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The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES
OF
THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA
(FOUNDED 1898)

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The Canadian Historical Review

Vol. I., No. 1 March, 1920

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE Canadian Historical Review, of which this is the first number, is not wholly a new venture. It is, in fact, merely a continuation and development of *The Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, an annual survey of Canadian historical literature which has now been in existence for nearly a quarter of a century. The new Review will continue to furnish a critical bibliography of all new publications having reference to Canadian history; but it will be published quarterly instead of annually, and it will extend the work of the earlier periodical by serving as a medium for the publication of original articles on Canadian history and allied subjects, of important documents, and of correspondence relating to questions of interest to students of Canadian history.

The decision to embark on this change was due, in the first instance, to the increasing volume of publications dealing with Canada that have issued from the press in recent years. To review all these publications in a single annual volume has become more and more difficult. It is conceivable that an authoritative review of an important book may be of scarcely less value than the book itself; but a reviewer, in order to write such a review, must have elbow-room. It is hoped that, in a quarterly, it will be possible to give to reviewers of important books the latitude they require; and at the same time to preserve the bibliographical feature of the old *Review* by printing in each number a full annotated list of recent publications relating to Canadian history, important and unimportant.

There were other reasons, moreover, which seemed to suggest that the time was ripe for enlarging the scope of the *Review*. Historical studies in Canada, which were in some respects in their infancy a quarter of a century ago, have become every year more vigorous; and there is now a large body of historical students, not only in Canada, but also in England and the United States, engaged in sifting the vast masses of new material relating to Canadian history which recent years have brought to light. Apart, however, from some admirable French-Canadian periodicals, such as the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, the *Revue Canadienne*, and *Le Canada Français*, there is almost no medium in Canada through which the occasional work of these historical students may be given to the public. In the United States there are many such historical journals. Not only are there periodicals of a national character, like the *American Historical Review*, but many sections of the country, many individual states even, have their own historical quarterlies. It seemed, therefore, a reproach to Canadians—to English-speaking Canadians, at any rate—that they had no similar vehicle for the publication of original materials relating to their own history.

It is intended, for the present, to confine the scope of the REVIEW to Canadian history. But an attempt will be made to interpret this programme in the most liberal sense. As in *The Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, not only Canadian history in the stricter sense, but geography, economics, archaeology, ethnology, law, education, and imperial relations, in so far as they relate to Canada, will fall under review. Nor will history in the making be neglected, as against history that is made. It will, moreover, be the aim of the editors to make the REVIEW as broadly national as possible. The services of historical scholars in all parts of the Dominion will be enlisted, both as contributors and as reviewers; and in particular, an attempt will be made to make the REVIEW a connecting link between English-Canadian and French-Canadian scholarship. There is an amount of admirable historical work being done by French Canadians, of which English-speaking Canadians are, unhappily, all too ignorant.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has no editorial opinions. Its object is merely to provide a forum for the discussion of questions relating to Canadian history; and with this object in view, it invites the widest expression of opinion, whether in contributions or in correspondence.

CANADA AND THE IMPERIAL WAR CABINET

I. British Protection of Canada

THE defence of the British Empire is a perplexing problem. Attempts to solve it provoked the great revolution from which came the republic of the United States. This revolution was even more momentous than the French Revolution. Not only did it determine the form of the political institutions of the greater part of the two continents of America, but it was itself also in large measure the cause of the French Revolution. Royalist France was aflame with eagerness for republican principles, as applied in America, to the hurt of a hated rival in Europe. These principles, however, would not remain on the other side of the ocean from France. They crossed to Europe and in the end helped to make France herself a republic. Thus a problem of the internal government of the British Empire expanded into a world problem, the struggle between democracy and aristocracy, between local liberty and centralized control. Ever since, in 1607, English colonists settled in Virginia it has haunted the politics of the British Empire. After a stormy history of three hundred years it has taken on a new character because of the great war which broke out in 1914.

The British Empire, as now we all see, has become a world-wide Commonwealth of Nations. When once the British over the seas attained to importance as states they could not be controlled and directed by the people of Great Britain and the consequent problem of continued union became one of the most searching which statesmanship could face. At the time of the American Revolution most British statesmen would have denied the equality of colonial leaders with themselves. A great landowner, with a vast palace as his home, living in state hardly short of regal, naming to Parliament some of its members, would have smiled at the thought of equality with a plain John Adams or even with the Virginian landowner, George Washington. Compared with an English magnate, these colonists would have had a social and with it a

political standing not greater than that of a simple squire in England. Even a Whig like Horace Walpole would not have included Washington, the colonist, in that charmed high circle, political and social, which to Walpole meant all in the world of interest and moment. Washington, on the other hand, had the stern, the scrupulous pride, which demanded unhesitating recognition of equality.

The ministers of George III told the American colonies that they must provide certain monies for their own defence. The colonies failed to give the required response and then the British Parliament itself undertook to tax them. Any one who knew the colonies could have foreseen the result. At once flamed up the spirit of liberty and independence. They would not be taxed from England; this task only their own legislature should perform; they would perish rather than yield. Perish many of them did; for seven long years they fought to assert their independence; and in the end they broke up in ruin the old British Empire. The lesson was clear enough to him who could read; no branch of the British peoples would be content with anything short of political equality with the others and of complete and direct sovereignty in its own affairs.

Failure, far-reaching and tragic, was the result of the first attempt to lead two widely separated sections of the British peoples to share common responsibilities and burdens. The defect was chiefly in tact and in method. The English colonies were not wanting in the manly spirit which assumes readily the tasks of manhood. It was because they were so manly in outlook that they resented with enduring bitterness the attempt to treat them as wayward and, in the end, as malignant children. In defying George III they assumed burdens and endured losses much heavier than any which would have been involved in obedience. After the American Revolution Britain was left with dependent states for the most part alien from her in blood and tradition and, in the ultimate analysis, held by the power of the sword. There was the germ of the present Indian Empire; there were a few weak and scattered colonies. The British Empire as to-day we know it was still to create and it was to be created in the light of the colossal failure which had led to the republic of the United States.

For a long time after this first disaster no urgent problem existed in regard to the sharing of common burdens. Outside of the United Kingdom there were not, for some scores of years, any British peoples who really mattered. Shattered was that earlier

ideal of overseas states peopled by Britons who treasured as their own the glories of an Imperial England, who were at home in lands widely scattered, but who never renounced the proud British citizenship with memories reaching back into a remote past. Probably when the American colonies broke away there were not a quarter of a million people of British origin living outside of the British Isles. There was no hope that these few people could share the burdens of an imperial state. They were themselves the burden. For a hundred years after the American Revolution, Canada was protected almost wholly at the expense of the British government. The colonies which remained to Britain were in truth what George III had desired the lost colonies to be, children to be protected by the parent and to give in return affection, trust, and obedience. Their political education could begin only when they were populous enough to take care of themselves.

For half a century after the American Revolution a majority of the people of Canada were of French origin with no tradition of British self-government. The British element, however, multiplied. Perhaps fifty or sixty thousand people, chiefly of English, rather than of Irish or Scottish, origin, driven out from the young republics, because of their loyalty to their king, took refuge in Canada. They were reinforced later by Irish and Scottish elements. While Canada was poor, weak in numbers, without importance compared with the wealth and power of the British Isles, it was easy to adhere to the view of parent and child. What the parent chiefly owed to the daughter state was protection, the protection of the strong for the weak. It was, of course, desirable that the people of the colony should, as far as possible, control their own local affairs. Final authority rested, however, with the mother country. It sent out a governor who was intended really to govern. Each colony had its little legislature, but this ought not to take itself too seriously. It could make laws and vote money. Over its doings, even in respect to these things, the governor kept a watchful eye and could at any time block action by refusing his consent to measures proposed. The legislature must do nothing that touched upon more than the internal interests of the colony and the judge of the import of its actions was to be the governor. It was for him to appoint to office and to dismiss from office. He had no ministers in any true sense of the word. There was no colonial cabinet which he must consult. He took advice from whom he would. Why should he not, since

Great Britain was responsible for the well-being of the colony and pledged to protect it from all danger? Of partnership on the part of the colony with Great Britain there was no thought. The strong parent protected a weak child.

By 1850, however, Canada had between three and four million people, a larger population than that of the American colonies at the time of the Revolution. By 1850, too, it had been established, and not without strife and bloodshed, that the legislature of Canada should control completely its internal affairs. For the first time, Canada had a real cabinet. On all purely domestic matters the Governor acted on the advice of his ministers. Outside affairs, however, he attended to himself. When, in 1854, a treaty for reciprocity in trade was to be made with the United States, it was not the Prime Minister of Canada, or any other Canadian minister, who went to Washington to negotiate, but the Governor himself, less as a delegate from the Canadian Cabinet than from that at London, whose nominee he was. In foreign affairs Canada was not supposed to have any voice, though, of course, the British Cabinet would not have imposed on Canada a treaty respecting Canadian trade which Canada did not desire.

The Civil War in the United States, lasting from 1861 to 1865, produced a great effect in Canada. In 1861 when an American ship of war removed from the British mail steamer *Trent* two envoys of the Southern Confederacy on their way to France and Britain and held them prisoners, the horizon was dark with clouds of war. The British government denounced as an outrage the seizure on the high seas of diplomatists who were under the protection of the British flag and demanded peremptorily that they should be released. It looked for a time as if war must follow. Should this happen Canada would inevitably be attacked. It was mid-winter. No ships could ascend the frozen St. Lawrence to Quebec and no railways as yet connected Halifax or St. John, ports open throughout the winter, with the menaced frontier of Canada on the upper St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. It was difficult in such circumstances to send British troops to the point of danger, but from the task the British government did not shrink. British regiments were sent across the sea to Halifax and they went overland in bitter cold in order to reach quickly the points of chief danger near and beyond Montreal. There was no shrinking from Britain's responsibility to defend Canada, and Canada accepted this defence in the spirit that a child shows to a guardian parent.

II. THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL SELF-RELIANCE IN CANADA

War was happily averted, but the menace helped to make the British colonies in North America realize a weakness which was due largely to lack of union. The small provinces on the Atlantic sea-board, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, had each a separate government wholly independent of what was then Canada and is now the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. The great West was still a wilderness ruled by the Hudson's Bay Company and outside the pale of Canadian politics. The Civil War made the United States a great military nation. The North was irritated with Great Britain because of the widely extended sympathy of the English ruling class with the aspiration of the South for separation. It was not impossible that one of the aims of the restored Union, with a great army and a consciousness now of strength, would be to insist on a policy which should break any remaining political tie of American States with Europe. As a matter of fact when the Civil War ended, France, planning an empire in Mexico, was given prompt notice to withdraw her forces from that country. It might soon be the turn of Britain to receive warning that the tie with Canada must end and that either a separate Canadian republic must be set up or that the British colonies must enter as states into the American union.

Fear of dictation from the great republic was not, of course, the only motive which led the scattered colonies to think of union. They needed union to save them from obscurity and isolation. Thus it came about that just at the time in 1864 when the North was planning the supreme effort to end the civil war, when Sherman was making his desolating march from Atlanta to the sea, and Grant was nerving himself for the last heavy blows which brought in the end the unconditional surrender of Lee, delegates from the British provinces were in conference at Quebec on the problem of union. Their conference was fruitful, and out of it came, in 1867, the federation since known as the Dominion of Canada. Within a few years it included the West as well as the East. By 1873 Canada was a vast country stretching across the American continent and covering an area as great as the United States.

For a time no change was apparent in the relations with Great Britain of this state so potent in promise. The Canadian people had still the colonial mind. They thought it incumbent on Great Britain to protect them. They liked to see the British red coats

in Canada; and to the petty type of Canadian politician it was an added source of satisfaction that, for the support of these regiments, not a penny came from the Canadian tax-payer. One thing, however, had been settled. The great federation was completely self-governing. The Governor-General, who represented the dignity of the British Crown, no longer made any claim really to govern. He was at Ottawa what the King was at London, the official head of the state with duties chiefly formal and ceremonial. He could act only on the advice of his responsible ministers. The Prime Minister ruled in Canada, as he ruled in England. It soon happened that when a governor undertook of his own motion to pardon a man who was under sentence of death for what was in reality a political crime, due to unsettled conditions in the West, there was a great outcry in Canada against even this vestige of the right on the part of the Governor to act independently of his Canadian advisers and the claim of the right so to act was soon abandoned. Then Canada was governed as Great Britain was governed, by a Parliament to which the Prime Minister was responsible and which might at will dismiss him from office and install his successor.

So far so good; but the most difficult problem remained still unsolved. What should be the relation of Canada to Great Britain? In this problem was wrapped up the larger one of the relations of all other British self-governing states, of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, to Great Britain. Could the relation remain one of subordination? Could a great state, continental in area, continue to be in a dependent position, its defence paid for by the heavily burdened tax-payer of Great Britain? India paid for its own defence, since the cost of the Indian army came from the exchequer of India. Canada, however, paid nothing for the British fleet and the British army which made her secure from attack. During many years there was slight interest in the question. Canada was creating the great railway systems which should bind together the East and the West and her financial power was so strained to meet the vast cost that, for a time, collapse was feared. In such conditions it would have been impossible, except in a time of dire peril, to persuade the Canadian voter to carry any tangible share of the burden of fleet and army. He had, moreover, no sense of impending danger. Down to 1914 war seemed to the average man in Canada an almost impossible thing. When war had actually touched him there had been a partial awakening. This had happened in 1899 when Canadian

regiments were sent to fight in South Africa. The scene of war was, however, remote, and, compared with what we now know, the effort was insignificant. Only in 1914 did the scales fall from the eyes of Canada and she saw the colossal figure of war, naked and menacing, rise up to imperil her own liberty and that of every free people.

In the face of this real peril, there was not a moment's hesitation in Canada as to her duty. It is true to say that in the tense days when the scope of the war was still undecided there was, so far from hesitation, a real fear in Canada that Britain might hold aloof and permit France and Russia alone to face Germany. It is sometimes said that Canada went into the war to help England. To stand by England, Canada was, indeed, resolved, but many Canadians resented the idea that she was merely helping England. Canadian soldiers thanked by English hosts for the help they had brought to the old land were annoyed rather than pleased. They had gone to fight for England no more than Scots or Irishmen had gone to fight for England. Partners with England in a great crusade? Yes. But fighting for England? No—except in the sense that England and Canada were fighting for each other.

What, we may again ask, was to be the relation of a self-reliant and proud nation in America to a self-reliant and proud nation in Europe, both of them owning allegiance to the same sovereign? It could not remain that of colony and mother country. The Canadian soldier in Flanders or France had no feeling that he was protected by a powerful mother land, the feeling which would have expressed the truth in regard to the Canada of an earlier period. Even so recently as in the South African war, though Canadian regiments had served in the British army, they had been paid not by Canada but by Great Britain. Now, in the Great War, Canada, for the first time, paid her own way as Britain and France paid their own way. For the first time the Canadian people subscribed for great loans to their own government to carry on the war. Hitherto a debtor nation, Canada became in part a creditor nation. She made vast quantities of munitions of war. Hitherto her manufacturers had not ventured upon some of the more delicate work in, for instance, steel, but now they made complex and difficult products. The young nation was showing itself competent. Its soldiers proved equal to the best. The officers, most of them civilians before the war, quickly acquired skill and enterprise in making war. What was to be the political expression of this national vitality?

III. CHANGES IN THE BRITISH CABINET SYSTEM

The Great War tested the machinery of all governments. In no very long time Russia broke down completely and fell into anarchy. So also, in measure which we hardly yet understand, collapsed in succession Bulgaria, Turkey, Austria-Hungary, and finally Germany. These countries were not merely defeated. In earlier wars nations have been defeated with no striking changes in the fabric of their governments. The strain, however, of this war, on a scale unique in human history, involved the break-up of many states, the fall of dynasties, the total collapse of political institutions. That the states which proved so stable as to win unexampled victory should yet change was to be expected, and in none of the victorious states have the changes been more remarkable than in Great Britain and the British Empire.

Long before the war broke out there had been plans for co-operation among the different states of the Empire both in time of peace and in time of war. In 1887 sat for the first time what came to be known as the Imperial Conference. Here representatives of all the self-governing states discussed matters of common interest, chiefly relating to communications and to trade. The great achievement of the Conference on Imperial Defence in 1909 was that it confronted this acute problem and later led to the creation of the Imperial Defence Committee. This Committee provided a means for counsel and coöperation among the various states of the Empire to meet the emergency of war. But in Canada, at least, it was never taken very seriously. The conviction of the unreflecting and uninformed that civilized states had outgrown war and that no great conflict was likely proved particularly strong in Canada as it did among similar classes in the United States. Between 1909 and 1914 there had been hot debates in Canada as to the creation of a Canadian navy or, failing this, a sharing of the burdens of the British navy. Little was done, and when the dark clouds broke in 1914 Canada was unprepared to meet the crisis.

Great Britain herself was not prepared and equipped for war upon the land. Even for war upon the sea, as now we know, her equipment was, in some respects, inferior to that of Germany. In learning the art of war she passed through profound modification in her government. She began the war under party government, with a Liberal ministry headed by Mr. Asquith. Within less than a year party government proved impossible. On May

25, 1915, a coalition ministry was announced in which sat Liberal, Conservative, and Labour members. Mr. Lloyd George, as Minister of Munitions, inspired fiery energy in production. Beyond the British Isles, too, every possible stimulus was applied. When in July, 1915, the Prime Minister of Canada went to London, evidence of the urgent need of unity in work throughout the whole Empire was found in the taking of a new step. He was invited by Mr. Asquith to attend the meetings of the British Cabinet. There was no precedent for this sitting in the Cabinet of Great Britain of a Prime Minister who was at the head of a separate ministry overseas.

At the same time other precedents were going by the board. In 1915 the existing British Parliament prolonged its own life beyond the statutory term of five years and, in fact, continued to sit for eight years, until the election of December, 1918. A little later Canada took similar action. Meanwhile even coalition government was proving ineffective since it laboured under the cumbrous methods of the days of peace. The coalition Cabinet formed in Great Britain in May, 1915, contained twenty-two members. It was too large and met too infrequently to direct from day to day the vast energies engaged in the war. It tried the plan of giving to a small War Council of five members the direction of the war. This council was a committee of the larger Cabinet and reported to that body. The members of the smaller body with the Prime Minister as its head were most of them heads of departments. Their burden was too heavy. The summer of 1916, which saw the great offensive on the Somme, brought to Britain depression and disillusion, for it showed that not yet were the allies able to strike effectively at the military power of Germany.

It thus happened that the end of 1916 saw a startling change in British politics. On December 1, Mr. Lloyd George wrote to the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, urging that the conduct of the war should be placed in the hands of a small body consisting of four members. So far as the carrying on of the war was concerned this body was really to be the government. It was a bold innovation when Mr. Lloyd George insisted that the Prime Minister, with his many other duties, should not be a member of this committee. This action brought the fall of Mr. Asquith's government. On December 7, Mr. Lloyd George himself became Prime Minister, and Mr. Asquith and many Liberal members retired from the coalition government. On December 9 met for the first time the small War Cabinet now created to direct Britain's effort in the war.

The four active members were to be free from the care of departments of government. They were Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, with Mr. Henderson as the representative of Labour. Mr. Bonar Law, the Conservative leader, was also to be a member, but he was chiefly to concern himself with the task of leader of the House of Commons.

Mr. Lloyd George, in insisting that a small body of men should direct the war, aimed to ensure undivided energy in reaching the needed decisions of a momentous crisis. He did not call it a committee of the old Cabinet. This would mean that it should report to the larger body and be subject to its authority, while, in fact, the opposite was the case, that the smaller body itself had final authority and gave instructions to the ministers who composed the former Cabinet. The name War Cabinet expressed with exactitude the fact that this Cabinet existed to meet the crisis of war and thus controlled all branches of government. It was to direct war policy. The ministers most immediately concerned with waging war were not members. It is indeed a paradox that the Secretary of State for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty were not in the War Cabinet. Because they had charge of great departments they were fully occupied with their duties. It was the function of the War Cabinet to determine what they should do.

There were some who urged that the War Cabinet should not absorb all the powers of government, but that side by side with it there should be a second cabinet to deal with domestic affairs. The idea of two cabinets dividing between them the authority of government was assuredly an innovation as great as that of a small cabinet in which sat none of the heads of great departments. Two cabinets were, however, impossible for, as Lord Curzon said in a debate on the cabinet in the House of Lords on June 19, 1918, "it is simply out of the question to draw a line of division, of demarcation, as between what are domestic questions and what are war questions. Nine-tenths of the questions which are commonly called domestic, which would be domestic in peace times, are war questions now." Such matters as food production, shipping, labour, taxation, were vitally connected with war. The War Cabinet was in consequence supreme. The heads of great departments, themselves of cabinet rank, became its servants. At such innovations champions of the old order were staggered. The whole work of the Empire, said Lord Midleton, in the debate, has fallen "on the shoulders of half a dozen oligarchs." The heads of the great ministries, unchecked by

sitting with their colleagues in a cabinet, had become, he said, autocrats in their departments. The War Cabinet created at will new government departments. Real cabinet government, said Lord Lansdowne, "had disappeared altogether and with it the good sound doctrine of the collective responsibility of the government of the day."

The War Cabinet involved changes of method which were equally startling. The old cabinet was a gathering, informal and confidential, of ministers to discuss public affairs with the Prime Minister and with each other. We do not formally record decisions, even the most momentous, arising from a casual meeting of friends. Every one present understands the topics discussed. All that is said is confidential and, among gentlemen, what is agreed upon in such a way will be binding. The cabinet had been a gathering of this kind. There was no secretary, no minutes were kept of the business transacted, no notice was given to the members of the business for which a meeting was called. A score or so of gentlemen came together, each of them occupied with important matters, each of them probably anxious to have on his business the counsel and decisions of the Cabinet, no one of them, except possibly the Prime Minister, knowing what business must be settled. The meetings were secret. No one might divulge anything that happened. Except on very rare occasions no one not a member sat with the Cabinet to give counsel based upon expert knowledge. The Prime Minister was supposed to remember all the decisions reached, with no written record to confirm or correct his impressions. It was, indeed, the custom that he should send a private letter to the King informing him of the business done. But this letter was for the King's eye alone and was not available for proof of what the Cabinet had decided. The inevitable result was that at times few really knew what the Cabinet had done. Members had often a completely wrong impression of the result of their deliberations. Such defects, bad enough in time of peace, were likely to prove ruinous in time of war. The need of change was urgent.

A cabinet of five may be as inefficient as a cabinet of a score if the right men are not found to serve. Granted the insight and driving power of genius, a cabinet of one might be better than a cabinet of six. Napoleon Bonaparte was his own cabinet. There was no magic in a small cabinet. Everything depended upon the members. Not only was it important that they should be able; it was also necessary that they should be free from other cares.

The War Cabinet was in practically continuous session. The members remained in London. They denied themselves pleasant, leisurely week-ends in the country. Sometimes meetings were held twice daily; always they were held once, except on Sunday. Lord Curzon said on June 19, 1918, that in four hundred and seventy-four days there had been five hundred and fifty-five meetings; that two rules were steadily kept in view, one to summon to the Cabinet the ministers, the generals, admirals and other experts who could give desired information and advice, the other to postpone nothing until to-morrow which could be decided to-day. The old Cabinet, pressed for time, divided by various views, unable to bring collected and prolonged attention to a problem, was likely to find refuge in delay. The War Cabinet, knowing the mischief of delay, was true to the policy of prompt decision. So fully had they carried it out, Lord Curzon added, that sometimes on Saturday there was no need to meet. All the business of the week had been despatched. He added, with perhaps a touch of humour, that the Irish question could not be settled in this summary way. But what could be settled was settled promptly by the War Cabinet. If departments differed the Cabinet at once decided the issue.

IV. THE SUMMONING OF THE IMPERIAL WAR CABINET

Britain's part in the war was not, however, the affair only of Great Britain. On this vast problem the whole British Empire was united. The Empire justly prides itself on the diversity of its interests and the variety of its governments. There are few questions in relation to which a common policy for the whole is even desirable. In war, however, unity of direction is the condition of success. Four great nations, Britain, the United States, France and Italy found, in the end, that to defeat Germany they must be united under a single lead. The armed forces of the British Empire were, from the first, under one supreme command and a War Cabinet which directed the efforts of Great Britain alone would not meet the realities of the war. On assuming office, Mr. Lloyd George had this in mind. He became Prime Minister on December 7, 1916. A week later, on December 14, he issued a call to the whole British Empire, including India, to send representatives to London for a conference on the war.

He did more, however, than summon this Imperial War Conference. War brings prompt and sometimes high-handed decisions. The War Cabinet had just been formed in England. Mr. Lloyd George did not ask the other Prime Ministers whether they would sit in a War Cabinet. He simply cabled to the Governments concerned: "Your Prime Minister will be a member of the War Cabinet." The war had reached perhaps its most critical point. The year 1917 brought a terrible crisis and its early days were full of thronging hopes, anxieties and fears. The United States had not yet entered the war. Russia was on the verge of collapse. The allies were preparing for the mighty effort which resulted in the stupendous sacrifices and the apparently meagre gains of that year. In such circumstances for Canada to have disregarded the call to united counsel and action would have been criminal. Sir Robert Borden and the Prime Ministers of other Dominions, with the exception of Mr. Hughes, detained in Australia by an election, hastened to London and there on March 20, 1917, was brought into actual being the Imperial War Cabinet.

On March 21, the day after the first meeting, *The Times* had a glowing article: "Imperial Rome, or Modern Germany for the matter of that, would have stage-managed such an event very differently. There would have been triumphant processions and elaborate banquets to mark it . . . The new world is to redress the balance of the old. . . . The great European problems which fall to be settled by the verdict of war . . . are henceforth problems for Canada and New Zealand and the other Dominions as well as Great Britain. . . . The War Cabinet which is now meeting is an executive cabinet for the Empire [*sic*]. It is invested with full responsibility for the prosecution of the war, including questions of Foreign Policy, of the provisioning of troops and munitions and of war finance. It will settle Imperial policy as to the time of peace." Mr. Lloyd George declared that the meeting of this "Imperial War Cabinet" marked "the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Empire." On one thing every one concerned laid special emphasis. The old colonial relation between Great Britain and the other free states of the Empire was definitely ended. The Prime Minister of the parent state, of course, took precedence of all others. He was, however, only *primus inter pares*. Next to him ranked the Prime Minister of Canada, the most populous self-governing state in the Empire after Great Britain. When the Prime Minister of Great Britain was absent the Prime Minister of Canada was to preside. Mr.

Lloyd George was careful to declare in the House of Commons on March 17, 1917, that the status of the Dominion ministers was one "of absolute equality with that of the members of the British War Cabinet." The whole situation respecting the war was laid bare to the members of the Imperial War Cabinet,—all secret treaties and other commitments, the plans for conducting the war, the possible conditions of peace.

There were, no doubt, anomalous features in the Imperial War Cabinet. It was, in reality, the Cabinet of Great Britain, said adverse critics; a few Dominion ministers were present, by courtesy, but the really directing force was in the members who represented only Great Britain. This statement was fortified by the fact that later when the Imperial War Cabinet was in session it took the place of the small War Cabinet created by Mr. Lloyd George and might decide respecting the internal and domestic affairs of Great Britain. It was surely an anomaly that Sir Robert Borden from Canada and General Botha from South Africa should be present at deliberations respecting possibly the control of food or the supply of coal in the British Isles. The word Cabinet, objectors added, could properly be applied only to a body responsible to a single electorate. Here were a number of Prime Ministers, named each of them by a separate electorate. In the past a cabinet could be turned out of office by the adverse vote of the legislative body representing the electorate. How could the Imperial War Cabinet be reached in a similar way?

Sir Robert Borden, speaking in London on June 21, 1918, endeavoured to answer these criticisms:

"It has been said that the term 'Imperial War Cabinet' is a misnomer." But, he added, "the word 'Cabinet' is unknown to the law. The meaning of 'Cabinet' has developed from time to time. For my part I see no incongruity whatever in applying the term 'Cabinet' to the association of Prime Ministers and other Ministers who meet around a common council board to debate and to determine the various needs of the Empire. If I should attempt to describe it I should say it is a Cabinet of Governments. Every Prime Minister who sits round that board is responsible to his own Parliament and to his own people; the conclusions of the War Cabinet can only be carried out by the Parliaments of the different nations of our Imperial Commonwealth". "New conditions", said Sir Robert Borden at another time, "must be met by new precedents." The modern British Empire, he pointed out, was a new type of organization. Canada had had self-

government for only three-quarters of a century, and it was only fifty years since the first experiment of federal government had been made within the Empire. Only since 1878 had Canada negotiated her own commercial treaties.

In 1917 the Imperial War Cabinet had fourteen sittings. During the same period was in session the Imperial War Conference, for the exchange of views on Imperial problems. The visiting Prime Ministers divided their time between the two bodies. When the sessions ended, Mr. Lloyd George announced in the House of Commons that the experiment had proved successful and that at least annual meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet would be held. "I ought to add", he said, "that the institution in its present form is extremely elastic. It grew, not by design, but out of the necessities of the war. . . . To what constitutional developments this may lead we do not attempt to settle."

Had the war ended in 1917 this first meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet might well also have been the last, for, at any rate, the word "war" would have been eliminated from the title. A world safe from the menace of a great military power like Germany would require less close coöperation between states of the British Empire than would the old dangerous world out of which had come the Great War. Circumstances, however, gave greater permanence to the Imperial War Cabinet. After the meeting in 1917 there was no hope of an early peace. Russia passed into deeper anarchy. Its Bolshevik government made peace with Germany and drifted in time into actual war with the Allies. Germany crushed Roumania and forced her to make a humiliating peace. The entry of the United States into the war in April, 1917, was a cheering contrast to these disastrous events in Europe. It was, however, soon evident that a year or more must elapse before the military help of the United States should become effective. The British Commonwealth was still in deadly peril, and the need was imperative for further united effort.

In 1917, when Sir Robert Borden returned to Canada from the Imperial War Conference, he announced his conviction that to meet the urgent need of men for the Canadian army compulsory military service must be adopted. By this time party government in Canada was seen to be as difficult as much earlier it had proved in England. In October, 1917, Conservatives and Liberals united to form a Union Government. Compulsory military service had already been adopted by the Canadian Parliament and an election, in December, 1917, gave a mandate to the government to go on

with the war to the utmost of the resources of the people of Canada. The months following were months of difficulty. The province of Quebec was intensely hostile to conscription, and the obstacles to the enforcement there of the Military Service Act were formidable. March, 1918, was a black month for the British Empire. On the 21st of that month the Germans made their great offensive at St. Quentin. They took about one hundred thousand prisoners and captured, it was said, one-fifth and, by some reports, one-third, of the total war equipment of the British armies in France and Flanders. It was the worst disaster which has ever befallen British arms. Yet in this grim hour of defeat the British peoples looked out undismayed, with no thought other than that of fighting on in the great cause.

It thus happened that the outlook was troubled when the second meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet began in London in June, 1918. There was a notable gathering in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords on Friday, June 21, to welcome the visiting Prime Ministers. Thirteen present and past Prime Ministers of British states were present. Mr. Lloyd George spoke of his privilege at presiding over the Imperial War Cabinet. "Sitting around that table," he said, "you find representatives of over 400,000,000 of human beings, most of the great races of the world represented, most of the great faiths of the world, an aggregation of many nations and their representatives brought together at this Council to concert the best methods for establishing right and justice on the earth." By this time the organization of the Cabinet had assumed more definite form. India and the Dominions had each two members with the exception of Newfoundland, which, because of its small population, had only one. The principle had been adopted that, when in session, the Imperial War Cabinet should take the place of the British War Cabinet, a much smaller body. In the Imperial War Cabinet sat the British Ministers connected with Foreign Affairs, with Defence, on land and sea and in the air, and with India. The Secretary of State for the Colonies sat there to represent the smaller states of the Empire not self-governing. The Imperial War Cabinet was thus a large body. It was, however, concerned only with policy, not with details of administration. Each day was printed a record of the business transacted on the previous day. Each day, too, the members found before them a carefully prepared statement of the business to come before their meeting.

Since the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet were secret the public was not informed of its operations. It invited Canada to send a force to Siberia, a decision which involved what would have been thought incredible in the time of George III, that officers and men of the British army should serve under a Canadian command. In order that counsel on Imperial affairs might be continuous it was decided that each Dominion, at its discretion, might keep a minister of cabinet rank in London to sit in the Imperial War Cabinet. The reality of the sharing of responsibility was seen in the fact that ministers from Canada and other Dominions went to France for a session of the Supreme War Council at Versailles which directed all the military operations of the allies. The Imperial War Conference, meeting at the same time, decided a vexed problem concerning India. Some British countries, anxious to keep their population European in character, had refused to receive East Indians as immigrants. This had caused great irritation in India. The remedy was found by giving India similar powers of restriction. Each country might, if it liked, exclude settlers from the other and thus the pride of each was saved. The Conference decided that the Dominion Prime Ministers might carry on direct relations with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom without these passing through the Colonial Office. This carried farther the idea of nations freely communicating with each other, without any departmental control.

The armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, and by November 20 the Imperial War Cabinet in its third series of meetings was considering the terms of peace. It had been the practice of the Cabinet to receive at its deliberations persons likely to give wise counsel, and it was an impressive occasion when, on December 3, the Cabinet met Marshal Foch and M. Clémenceau, the Prime Minister of France. The days of greatest strain were, however, ended. The war had resulted in victory, astounding in its suddenness and completeness. There remained the intricate problems of peace. When the Peace Conference opened at Paris in January, 1919, not formally, but certainly in reality, the Imperial War Cabinet transferred its sessions to Paris under the name of the British Empire Delegation. In the frequent absence of Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Robert Borden presided. When the time came for signing the peace treaty the Dominion ministers with the full support of all the members of the Imperial War Cabinet insisted that as each Dominion was in reality a nation which could be bound only by the action of its own ministers the

peace must be signed by each unit separately. Observers were puzzled by the anomalous British Empire which at one time was a unit under a single sovereign, the King-Emperor, and at another time stood as half a dozen independent units. Not without the firm pressure of Canada's Prime Minister, was her status and that of the other Dominions recognized by other nations. A similar difficulty was met and overcome when Canada insisted upon a separate status in the International Labour Conference, a creation of the Treaty of Peace, and also in the League of Nations. That the British Empire had six votes in the League of Nations was seized upon by anti-British elements in the United States and was one of the chief reasons why the American Senate took objection to the Peace Treaty, without reservations which the President regarded as destructive.

VI. THE FUTURE

Such is the story of the Imperial War Cabinet. It is a far cry from the early years of the nineteenth century, when Canada was a small dependent colony, to those days in Paris in 1919 when the Prime Minister of Canada presided over the British Peace Delegation in its deliberations concerning a new settlement of the world. The title of the Imperial War Cabinet already belongs to the past, and we may hope that it need never be revived. The experiences of war have become, however, the endowment of all the peoples of the British Commonwealth. For a moment memory may be invoked to recall the strife of the American Revolution and to ask what might have been the story of modern civilization in Europe and America had an Imperial Council sat in 1775 and 1776 to understand and adjust the differences of that epoch. Regrets are vain, and sometimes it is well to forget. But if we forget the past, we shall be wise to remember the future. The states which make up the British Empire form, at last, a real league of nations, among whom war is impossible, who are united on terms of equality, who, while held together by common traditions and loyalties, are free to remain distinct nations with differences of national outlook and national temper. Those who have dreamed of younger Englands in all parts of the world will never see their dream realized. They will see something richer in promise—varied types of British nations within a single commonwealth.

The problem of union among these different types is not easy. There is in each a national spirit which grows stronger as the tradition of separate life lengthens. In the pride of its independence a young nation is apt to fear that attempts at close unity with the older Britain may involve in one direction limitations, in another the assuming of responsibilities not in harmony with its own interests. There is, too, in the younger states the sensitive dread of patronage from the older society, the fear that nominal union may only mean real subordination. There are elements in Canada which do not like the thought of a possible Imperial Cabinet in London, for they fear that a Canadian representative, in the atmosphere of an old capital, where rank and tradition count for much, may lose touch with the plain people of Canada. They fear the corroding effect of social ambitions and of imperial designs in the crowded centre of a great world commonwealth.

There is no doubt that during the last two years of the war British coöperation had been better than before, and credit for this must be given to the counsels of the Imperial War Cabinet. The Cabinet had been looking far ahead and had plans for a campaign in 1919 and even in 1920. It is clear also that Canada and the other Dominions often brought to these counsels a view more detached than was prevalent in war-worn Europe and that in this way British policy was greatly influenced. Each Prime Minister had to support a policy which he could justify to his own people; and what Australia and Canada were likely to think had a real weight in British policy. In this respect the directing body was appropriately named a Cabinet. It was not delegated agents, but men directly responsible each to his own electorate, who carried the weight of British policy in the later years of the war.

By some the Imperial War Cabinet was regarded as defective because it had not behind it the authority of an elected Parliament to represent the whole British Empire. The conclusion was deduced that to make an Imperial Cabinet real there must be created an Imperial electorate choosing a legislative body for a federated Empire. Then would there be a Cabinet in harmony with earlier ideas of the nature of a Cabinet. The Prime Minister of the British Empire would be surrounded by cabinet colleagues coming from the various units of the Empire who would be heads of Imperial administrative departments, Secretaries of State for war, Admiralty, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Commerce and Communications. This Cabinet would really govern through organs of its own and the whole British Empire, containing one quarter of mankind,

would speak through its Imperial legislature and its Imperial cabinet ministers.

We may leave the ideal of complete legislative and executive separation side by side with that of complete legislative and executive union. We are living in a real world, at perhaps the moment most intense and vital in the whole history of man, and we cannot measure the forces which control the future. The British peoples have made terrible sacrifices for common ideals. In these great days they have not been careful about theories of government, they have not been jealous in respect to the exercise of authority and control if such exercise promised to aid in achieving the great ends for which they were together battling. In a sense the British peoples are idealists. During this great struggle nothing more inspired them than the magic of the words freedom and justice. For what is meant by these words, millions of Britons have been stricken on the fields of battle, and hundreds of thousands have died. But these idealists are also experimental and practical. They care little for the theory so long as the needed thing is done. What they ask is not whether a method is exactly in line with precedent, but whether it will work.

One thing is certain. We are not going back to the old ways. No British Cabinet will ever again carry on its business as did the Cabinet before the war. This the recent Cabinet has definitely announced. Periods of great excitement and strain are always followed by reaction. Never, however, when a profound new experience has shaken society, does the old outlook in reality return. In such eras something new comes into the souls of nations. The Great War has helped to unfold to the British people the mystery of themselves. They have realized forces, of the existence of which they were hardly aware. There was mystery in that sudden coming together in thought when they stood on the brink of the Great War. Any one who had prophesied that this common spirit of aspiration and sacrifice would have been so unhesitating, so complete, would hardly have been believed. It was known and realized only in the moment of actual experience.

Its meaning for the future is also still a mystery. To many the Great War, which has brought together British armies from all parts of the world, has really helped to make the peoples thus represented recognize their differences. It is said that the Australian and the Canadian soldier when in contact developed acute antagonism. Many a Canadian, who had in imagination idealized England and its people, returned to his home with a sense of dis-

illusion sometimes bitter. Yet in spite of this the British peoples were one. Probably we tend in smooth and easy days to underestimate the effect of the deep roots of unbroken tradition which nourish the life of a nation. The liberties of Canada have come, not without struggle, slowly from precedent to precedent based on parallel changes in Britain herself. It is the same in Australia. What these young states thus prize most in their own life is what Britain itself prizes most and it has involved no rupture with the long past or with the parent state. There is among all of them continued unity in tradition and political development. In the moment of crisis they could not, with such traditions, do other than think alike on the great question of human liberty.

Every part of the British Empire did well and bravely the work which fell to it. The supreme sacrifices fell, however, on Britain herself. She met them in a spirit which made the British peoples everywhere proud to be bone of her bone, flesh of her flesh. Her fleet guarded all the seas and kept them open for herself and every allied nation as well as for neutrals. Thousands even of her civilian sailors perished. On land she fought in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa. When almost all of her male population of fighting age and about one in six of her total population took up arms, her women occupied their places in work at home. She so kept up her production that she paid out of current revenues a greater portion of the cost of the war than any other nation but the United States. When herself well-nigh bankrupt by the strain of war she continued to lend to needy allies. In the last year of the war Germany, recognizing that Britain was her deadliest foe in Europe, threw against her two-thirds of the German fighting forces in the West. More than two million casualties and a million dead were the awful cost that the British paid. Yet from the British Isles which bore most of this sacrifice came no word of complaint of an undue share of burden, or of boasting over what Britain had achieved.

It is too early to assume that in the Imperial War Cabinet we have the lines of a solution of the method of coöperation. Probably both it and the War Cabinet of Great Britain during the last years of the war were as effective means as could have been devised at the time for attaining the ends in view. The report for 1918 of the small body which directed the war effort of Great Britain gives an amazing record of achievement. In that year 1,359 new tanks were delivered and a much larger number would have been ready in 1919. The tonnage of ships completed in the year amounted

to a million and a half, three times the amount of 1916. In the great German advance of March, 1918, the British lost a vast number of guns but, by the time the German offensive ended in July, the British had in France 700 more guns than they had when the offensive began. They had to reduce their transport at home by sending across the Channel 12,000 railway wagons with the needed locomotives. They were forced to take 54,000 men from the railways, and 80,000 from the mines for military purposes. Yet production increased, and during the year the British people paid in taxes the vast sum of about $4,500,000,000.

All this shows that the War Cabinet directed British energies with effect. There were, however, special difficulties in ruling through this small body. Its members had to summon experts in every branch of effort and these consultations involved sometimes more advisers than those in the old Cabinet. The men wholly detached from executive duties could not always determine the lines of policy as well as could those actually at the head of departments and, since these were not deliberating together, coördination in effort was sometimes lost. The War Cabinet worked effectively during the strain of war and it ceased to exist soon after the war was over. The Imperial War Cabinet also did well in a great crisis. Its chief virtue was in its quality as a gathering of Prime Ministers who could speak with authority for their governments. No one as well as a Prime Minister could make a quick and authoritative decision. In time of peace, however, for Prime Ministers to meet even annually in London would involve possibly fatal neglect of their tasks at home. The Imperial War Conference of 1917 agreed that a Conference to deal specially with the whole question should meet after the war; and this body will probably assemble during the year 1920 or 1921.

The future will, without doubt, bring changes startling to minds bound by precedent. It has long been held in the official world that foreign affairs, at least, must be in the control of one central government. Yet the Canadian government has announced its intention of creating the germ of a diplomatic service, and the near future is likely to see in the American capital a representative of Canada negotiating with the government in regard to business with Canada as the British Ambassador negotiates in regard to business with Great Britain. The two envoys will act together in matters common to both and Canada will assuredly have an increased weight because of her ties with Britain. The world will only slowly understand the meaning

of the words of General Smuts that on August 4, 1914, the British Empire died. Out of the torture of war have come the free, equal, and united states of the British Commonwealth. This equality must involve in the end not only equality of privilege but also equality of responsibility and sacrifice; and it is along this road that Canada must travel.

GEORGE M. WRONG

NOTES ON THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE, 1864[1]

OUR knowledge of the proceedings at the Conference on the confederation of the British North American provinces, held at Quebec in October, 1864, is far from satisfactory. The sittings were held behind closed doors, and little except the official Report of Resolutions adopted was made public at the time. Sir Joseph Pope found among the papers of Sir John Macdonald a mass of documents relating to the Conference, including printed draft Minutes of Proceedings, up to October 20; the original rough minutes in the handwriting of the Executive Secretary, Lieut.-Col. Hewitt Bernard; Col. Bernard's notes of speeches and other proceedings; the original texts of motions and amendments; and many other memoranda. From these he published, in his *Confederation Documents*, the "Minutes of Proceedings" and the "Discussions", which together form our chief source of information as to what happened in the Conference. They are, however, obviously incomplete. The Minutes are quite meagre, and, towards the end of the Conference, are in places entirely wanting. The "Discussions", based on the long-hand notes of Col. Bernard, are necessarily fragmentary. Any further evidence is, therefore, of peculiar importance.

The following document is an account of the proceedings by the Hon. A. A. Macdonald, one of the delegates from Prince Edward Island, drawn up from his own notes taken at the Conference.

A. G. DOUGHTY

[*Transcript.*]

From notes taken at the Quebec Conference held at Quebec on October 10, 1864. (*By A. A. Macdonald*).

On the assemblage of the delegates from all the Provinces at the Parliament building in Quebec there were present besides the ministers of the two Upper Provinces seven delegates from New Brunswick five from Nova Scotia seven from Prince Edward Island and two from Newfoundland.

[1] From the Papers of Sir John A. Macdonald in the Public Archives of Canada.

It was moved by Colonel Gray, who had been Chairman of the Conference at Charlottetown and seconded by Mr. Tilley that Sir E. P. Taché should be Chairman and carried unanimously.

Hon. Dr. Tupper then moved that Hon. Wm. Pope, delegate from P.E.I., be appointed secretary which was agreed to.

After some discussion as to mode of procedure it was decided that besides the secretary for the whole convention an additional secretary should be appointed for each Province.

A certified list of the delegates representing each province was handed in and tabled.[1]

Sir E. P. Taché, Chairman then addressed the delegates and welcomed them to Quebec.[2] He said that the object of the Conference was to do away with some of the internal hindrances to trade, and to unite the Provinces for mutual defence. Without unity of action and comity of sentiment a great Country could not expect to exist. The majority of the people believe if their rights and privileges are left to the local Legislatures they will be safe in the liberties guaranteed to them and ratified by solemn treaties even if we do not come to an understanding on the subject of confederation. He hoped that this meeting of the leading statesmen of the British Provinces who are here assembled may be productive of an amount of good that will be beneficial in the highest degree "to all the Provinces."

A lengthy discussion followed as to the means of voting on such questions as were to be considered. Were the delegates to vote individually, or should the votes be given by Provinces! Should each Province have the same status whether large or small in deciding a question respecting which there were different views! Were the members of the Conference to first express their opinions in the general meeting! Were the senior members to explain what had been already done! The discussion of these preliminaries having taken up some time. It was finally agreed that each Province should have one vote. That free discussion should be allowed. That the delegates from each Province might retire to discuss among themselves any question before voting, etc., etc. It was also decided that the Conference should meet at 11 o'clock a.m. daily and sit continuously until 4 p.m. (fifteen minutes being allowed for a light lunch in the room adjoining.)

[1] The following is a list of the delegates:

CANADA.—Sir E. P. Taché, John A. Macdonald, G. E. Cartier, George Brown, Oliver Mowat, Alexander T. Galt, W. McDougall, T. D'Arcy McGee, Alex. Campbell, J. C. Chapais, H. L. Langevin, J. Cockburn.

NOVA SCOTIA.—Charles Tupper, William A. Henry, Jonathan McCully, Robert B. Dickey, Adams G. Archibald.

NEW BRUNSWICK.—Samuel L. Tilley, W. H. Steeves, J. M. Johnson, P. Mitchell, E. B. Chandler, John H. Gray, Charles Fisher.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—F. B. T. Carter, Ambrose Shea.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—J. H. Gray, E. Palmer, W. H. Pope, A. A. Macdonald, G. Coles, T. H. Haviland, E. Whelan.

[2] Nothing of the speeches and discussion of the first day is found in Bernard's notes.

Hon. G. E. Cartier then gave an exposition of the first delegation to Charlottetown and what followed until the Conference had reassembled now at Quebec. He said: We thought if the Legislatures of the different Provinces were brought together they would legislate more for the general advantage. The United Provinces have about 4½ millions of inhabitants we have therefore the personal element which is essential. Then it is evident that no nation can attain great power without the Maritime element. We must have Commercial intercourse with Europe during more than six months of the year. You who live down by the sea have seaports open all the year round and it is better that you should have the benefit of our trade than that a foreign power should have it. We thought that a Federation scheme was the best because these provinces are peopled by different nations and by peoples of different religions. There is the question of a Tariff for the United Provinces. The regulation of postal communication and rates of postage, national works which might be brought before the general government without detriment and without offending any party or interest. We have now Customs and Tariffs in the different Provinces all now differing from each other each Province looking out only for its own interest. As to defence we all know the position England has assumed towards us. Separated as we are we can not defend ourselves. Cobden and Bright say what is the use of sending an army to defend Prince Edward Island. It would be a great question if England would send an army or bring the power of Britain to defend any province from invasion. When we bring the Country all together all our means would be united to repel an enemy. We would also have the seamen and we would have about 60,000 of them on the St. Lawrence. The position that England has taken now shows that we must be under one system of Government. Our financial interests also demand that we should be united. We all desire that these provinces should be as great as possible. There is always something better to be done something greater to be attained. I would never advocate this Union if I thought we would not thereby perpetrate[1] the power of Queen Victoria in this Province.

Colonel Gray, P.E.I., said: When I spoke of establishing a nationality I only referred to what has been the dream of my life to be one day a citizen of a great nation extending from the Great West to the Atlantic seaboard. He sincerely hoped that the delegates from all the provinces would unite to accomplish this great work. Prince Edward Island was but a small province but it could be to the other Provinces all that the little state of Rhode Island was to the great American Union, etc.

Hon. Mr. Carter, Newfoundland. Spoke in favour of the general principle of Federation and its bearing on Newfoundland which was a Commercial Colony possessed of immense wealth in its Fisheries. Many people had made fortunes there and retired to Britain to spend them. He looked to Federation as opening up a wide field for enterprise in this Continent and it might be the

[1] *Sic.* Doubtless a typist's error. Read "perpetuate".

means of inducing such persons to live here instead of retiring to the old country to spend their fortunes. The debt of the Colony was only £200,000, while the exports are in excess of the imports. The Provincial debentures bearing 5 per cent command a premium. We can supply your navy with seamen for we have a hardy race inured to the dangers of the deep and ready to defend the country when they are required to do so. Our province is larger than either England, Ireland or Scotland and comprises 40,000 square miles.

While I am a member of the administration my co-delegate is a member of the opposition in that Colony but our interests are alike in desiring to do all we can to benefit the Province we come from.

Hon. Mr. Shea, Newfoundland, agreed with Mr. Carter as to the favourable consideration which should be given to the proposed measure. We have the strongest feelings in favour of Confederation and as Newfoundland stands as the key to the Atlantic it is the interest of Canada that we should not be taken hold of by any foreign power. We stand at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the power which holds the Colony would control the trade of the Gulf by both entrances. Our fisheries employ 30,000 men a hardy and industrious class of men unsurpassed for daring and energy by any other seamen in the world. We have 350 vessels engaged in the seal fishery alone with 14,000 men.

Our imports are about six millions and our exports exceed our imports by nearly a million dollars annually. Our Revenue per head is larger than that of any of the other provinces. Our debt does not amount to more than $900,000. We can raise all the money we want @ 4½ per cent. Our financial position is better I believe than that of the States of the American Union. A very small portion of our imports come from Canada while a very considerable portion come from the United States. Our people have no facilities for trade with Canada, they had to go to the United States. It took a month for a reply to be received to a letter addressed to Canada and the postage was double what it was between Canada and Britain. We looked to Confederation to remedy this state of affairs. We have what Canada requires and we want the class of goods that Canada can supply. We must have steam packets plying regularly between Canada and the Colony and then trade would soon follow that channel.

Hon. Mr. Galt referred to the observations of previous speakers at some length and the benefits which would be conferred upon all the provinces by a uniformity of tariffs, postage, banking, currency, etc., and gave a number of statistics bearing on the subject. The Intercolonial Railway would be the great highway between the Canadas and the Maritime Provinces, if the Union could be accomplished and the road completed. It would be the bond of Union between the East and the West. . . . The debt of Canada was somewhat less per head than that of New Brunswick. In Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island the case is different. It is not so much what the debt of a colony is as what the expenditure is per

head of the population. Provision must be made for the Local Governments. All the revenue from Customs and Excise would go to the general government. The expenses of the Local Government would be lessened by the works they have now to provide for being lessened. In Canada it was thought the General Government could contribute towards the wants of the local Governments. The debts and taxation of the Provinces offered no material objection in our view. Many of us are of opinion that direct taxation is what is best but we must not insist on our individual opinions.

Mr. Mitchell. I believe it is desirable as a means of perpetuating British rule in these Colonies. We want a general system of currency and Post Office arrangements. We want restrictions of trade removed and that we may be united and act with one mind for the defence of our rights. I hope that no peddling policy will be adopted.

Hon. Mr. Coles. We must not expect that Prince Edward Island will come into a confederation to be taxed three dollars per head instead of one dollar as at present. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland have the Crown lands and other Revenues which we do not possess in our province. If Prince Edward Island was to give up her excise and customs she would have no revenues left with which to carry on the business of the province.

Hon. Mr. Haviland. We are here to throw away our party views and to look on the questions before us in a broader spirit. As a British American I will go heart and soul for a Federal Union of all the Colonies.

Hon. Mr. Pope. When the proper time arrives to do so I will show how Prince Edward Island will be effected [*sic*] by withdrawing her general revenues.

Hon. Mr. McCully spoke at some length but chiefly as to opinions on Legislative Union which he stated were prevalent in his Province.

Hon. Dr. Tupper thought we should have a fuller exposition from the Canadian Ministry of what was intended at the present time. If it can be shown that the difficulties can be removed I shall be pleased, as it will elevate our Status, improve our social position and enable us to occupy a higher place in the national family. . . .

Hon. John A. McDonald. We all meet here for the purpose of discussing the general principles of a Federal Constitution, leaving it thus open to all parties to express their views freely. Unless the details can be made satisfactory the whole thing must break down.

Hon. Mr. Dickie. The question must depend on what the details are to be and it should be more discussed before we give our vote one way or the other.

Hon. Mr. Brown thought it inexpedient to have a general debate on one resolution and then afterwards the same to be again gone over.

Hon. Dr. Tupper stated the purport of the former Conference at which owing to the statements of gentlemen from Canada it was decided not to report finally until it was known what has been done at the present Conference. . . .

After some further discussion it was decided to adjourn until tomorrow at 11 a.m.

QUEBEC, OCTOBER 11, 1864. (TUESDAY)

Conference opened at 11 a.m.

It was resolved after debate that Mr. H. Barnard should be appointed Executive Secretary to the Conference to keep a record of the official decisions of the Conference.

It was also decided after debate that each Province by whatever number of delegates it was represented should have one vote in deciding all questions except those of order.

Free discussion to be allowed.

Conference to be in committee of the whole.

No discussion allowed after vote taken.

Each Province delegation may retire for consultation.

Afterwards all resolutions to be with speaker in chair.

At close of Conference decision as to publication.

Conference then resumed the consideration of motion in favour of Federal Union as per Resolution[1] and

Hon. John A. McDonald said:[2] As we can't have the same scale of duty throughout the various provinces, we must continue with hostile tariffs unless we have the Union which is the only alternative. How is this to be done? Now as to the Constitution of the Legislatures we should have two Chambers, an upper and a lower house. In the upper house equality in numbers should be the basis. In the lower house population should be the basis. Upper Canada had at last census 1,400,000, now it has 1,600,000. Lower Canada had then more than 1,000,000, now 1,200,000. Nova Scotia say 350,000. New Brunswick 260,000. Newfoundland 125,000. Prince Edward Island 85,000. Upper Canada would be taken as one division say with 60 members. Lower Canada 60 members and Acadia and Maritime 20 each.

—The mode of appointment to the Upper House—

Many are in favour of Election and many are in favour of appointment by the crown. My own opinion will be made up on having arguments on both sides of the question as my mind is open on the subject. I may say however that I am favourable to appointments by the Crown. I am, after experience in both systems, in favour of returning to the old system of nomination by the Crown. It is asking too much to require the members of the upper house of each province to extinguish themselves. We have 72 members in the Upper house, 48 elected and balance nominated by the Crown. If a ballot were taken for 20 in the old house to represent in the new house it might answer, or the new house might be elected from the old Upper house. There should be a large property qualification for the Upper house which is then the representative of property.

[1] This Resolution, introduced by John A. Macdonald and S. L. Tilley on October 10, was "That the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America will be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain, provided such union can be effected on principles just to the several Provinces."

[2] By comparison with the text in Pope's *Confederation Documents* it will be seen that the present writer has omitted all the earlier portion of John A. Macdonald's speech.

It should be an independent body as far as property goes. First election to be made by the present constituency and afterwards qualification of Electors to be fixed by the general parliament. We must have a strong Central Government with all authority except what is given to the local governments in each Province and avoid the errors of the American Constitution.

Hon. Mr. Dickie enquired what authority we have from the British Government to agitate this question. May we not have those advantages we look for without legislative and administrative arrangements . . . referred to flour trade . . . Taxation in Canada is here on roads and bridges and also for education. There is also Municipal taxation besides the general tax; therefore such a measure must increase taxation very materially in the Maritime Provinces and if Municipal taxes are not included in the Canadian statement it must make taxes more than they really appear to be.

(Note) Despatch of 6th July 1862 was read in reply to Mr. Dickie's question.

Hon. Mr. Galt replied at some length: There is no doubt but what the free trade between the Provinces might be extended, even as we are, but it could not be done so effectually. I think it necessary to give certain amounts from the general revenue to local wants.

Hon. Mr. McCully addressed the conference in a long speech but his remarks very general.

Hon. Mr. Brown said he differed in many details which he would discuss in other resolutions when they came up. The first resolution was then unanimously agreed to. The second resolution in favor of Federation of the Provinces with general Government and local Governments for each of the Canada's and for the Maritime Provinces in local matters, with provision of admission of N.W.T., B.C. and Vancouver[1] then submitted by Hon. Mr. Brown who said that the British Government have offered the North West Country to Canada already and that we should open up roads into that Country, etc., etc., etc.

Hon. Mr. Archibald approved of the general principles of allowing the increase of territory as contemplated in the resolution. . . . A good deal of general discussion followed when four o'clock having arrived the Conference adjourned until 11 A. M. to-morrow.

[1] The following is the wording of this Resolution as given in the Minutes:

"That in the Federation of the British North American Provinces the system of government best adapted under existing circumstances to protect the diversified interests of the several Provinces and secure efficiency, harmony and permanency in the working of the Union, would be a General Government, charged with matters of common interest to the whole country; and Local Governments for each of the Canadas and for the Maritime Provinces, charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections, provision being made for the admission into the Union on equitable terms of the North-West Territory, British Columbia and Vancouver."

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1864.

Conference assembled at 11 A. M.

A number of communications addressed to the Conference by various societies and individuals inviting the Conference to visit public institutions, etc., and also from the press for reports of the proceedings were read and the minutes of previous meetings were agreed to.

A discussion relative to inviting the Western Territory and British Columbia to unite with the Conference then ensued, and thereupon and owing to other circumstances connected with the delegation, the Canadians adjourned to hold an Executive Council meeting.[1]

The delegates from the Maritime Provinces remained and discussed a resolution submitted by Hon. George Brown, that the Lower Provinces be admitted as one, and Upper and Lower Canada as one each.[2]

After considerable debate all the delegates from the Lower Provinces disagreed to this resolution.

Conference adjourned till 11 A. M. to-morrow.

QUEBEC, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1864.[3]

Conference met pursuant to adjournment. Minutes of previous meeting adopted.

Hon. Mr. Brown agreed to withdraw his resolutions of the previous day.

Hon. John A. Macdonald then read several resolutions which the Canadians had prepared to submit as to the Constitution of the Legislature, viz.,

That the Legislative Council consist of 72 members, 24 from Upper Canada, 24 from Lower Canada and 24 from Lower Provinces, to be chosen from the present Councils and appointed by the Crown under great seal of Executive Government and to be for life. Executive Government to be responsible. Local Governments to consist of two branches. The Lieutenant Governor to be appointed under great seal of General Government. Mr. Macdonald explained these resolutions in his address to the Conference, and then

Hon. Mr. Fisher moved that the General and Local Governments shall be formed on the model of the British Constitution as far as possible. A long discussion then ensued as to the propriety of passing such a resolution, which, after several amendments were proposed, resulted in the adoption of the amendment of Mr. Tilley that the word "Local" be struck out of Mr. Fisher's resolution which was then agreed to as amended.

[1] The delegates from Canada were appointed a committee to prepare resolutions to be submitted to the Conference.

[2] There is no reference to this matter in this day's Minutes or Discussions as published by Pope.

[3] Bernard's notes of the sittings from October 13 to October 18 inclusive, if prepared, are now missing. The present document, therefore, becomes of primary importance for these days.

Hon. John A. Macdonald moved that there be a general Government consisting of a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly. 2nd. That the Council consist of 72 members, 24 for each of the Canada's and 24 for the Lower Provinces.

A lengthy discussion followed this point and Mr. Tilley moved that the Canada's have 24 each and the Lower Provinces 32 members or a House of 80 members, and in his remarks stated that these would be appointed, 12 to Nova Scotia, 10 to New Brunswick, 6 to Newfoundland and four to Prince Edward Island. Many of the delegates spoke on this subject and the hour of 4 O'Clock ensuing the Conference was adjourned until 11 A. M. tomorrow.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1864.

Conference met at 11 A. M. and resumed the consideration of the motion respecting Legislative Council.

The members from the Lower Provinces strongly urged their contention for a larger relative representation which the Canadians opposed. Many of the members of the Conference took part in the discussion of this question and many amendments were offered. The Maritime delegates contended that population should not decide the numbers in the Federal Legislative Council. Each Province had its own Constitution under which the smaller Provinces had the same powers as the larger ones and could thus with reason claim the right to a fuller quota in the Council than proposed by the Canadians. The only safeguard the small Provinces would possess was in the Council. If numbers in the other House were based on population they should not also decide the representation which the weaker Provinces were to receive in the Upper Chamber, etc., etc. At 4 O'Clock Conference adjourned till 11 A. M. tomorrow.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1864.

Conference resumed.

It was resolved that on and after Monday the 21st inst., Conference meet @ 10 A. M. and sit till 8 P. M. Meet again at 7.30 P. M. and sit as late as desirable.

The further consideration of representation in the Legislative Council was resumed and the general subject of Federation was discussed in connection with this resolution.

The delegates from Prince Edward Island were not satisfied with the number of representatives proposed for their Province.

Hon. Mr. Langerin[1] claimed that Quebec should have an equal number with Upper Canada but did not appear to urge a smaller number than Mr. Tilley proposed for the Lower Provinces.

(*Note*). I think that Hon. Mr. Brown contended for a larger number for Ontario than for Quebec.

Nearly all of the delegates expressed their views at some length but no other notes were taken by the writer of their speeches on this

[1] *Sic.* Read "Langevin."

day, as he was engaged in compiling statistics of P. E. I. in Dollars and Cents, and at 2.30 P. M. the Conference adjourned until 10 O'Clock A. M. on Monday.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1864.

Conference met at 10 A. M.

The resolution submitted by Mr. Brown on Tuesday last was taken up setting forth that the system of Government should be Federal with Local Governments in each Province and provision for admission of the North West Territories, Newfoundland, British Columbia and Vancouver, and further debate following the resolution was adopted and entered on the record.[11]

The adjourned debate on the constitution of the Federal Legislative Council was then resumed.

Hon. A. A. MacDonald said:

That he considered each Province should have equal representation in the Federal Upper house and instanced the different States of the Union which however diversified in area were each represented by two Senators in the General Government. It was he thought understood at first that while the Lower house should have its number of members based on population, the Upper house should be more representative of the smaller Provinces as it was to be the guardian of their rights and privileges. Each Province now possesses a constitution of its own similar in the case of the smallest to that in the largest Province and equal rights and privileges were accorded to all alike. It was therefore a good reason why the smaller Provinces should claim better representation in the Legislative Council than the resolution provided. The Canadians make no allowance for our present condition. We are not specially desirous of changing it. What are the inducements for us to give up our Constitution! What is Canada conceding to the Lower Provinces! Canada proposes a certain number of Councillors to suit the ideas of its own people and will not admit of any deviation from that proposal. Each Province has now a fixed number of Provincial Legislative Coun-

[1] According to the Minutes this resolution (see note 6 above) had been passed on October 12. It was now reconsidered and amended so that the latter portion reads: "and Local Governments for each of the Canadas and for the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections, provision being made for the admission into the Union on equitable terms of Newfoundland, the North-West Territory, British Columbia and Vancouver."

The change in *status* of Newfoundland is interesting, but neither Bernard nor Macdonald throws light on it. The Newfoundland delegates had hitherto been participants in the discussion and voting, apparently on equal terms, but, according to the Minutes, at this sitting a resolution was carried: "That the Colony of Newfoundland, having sent a deputation to this Conference, be now invited to enter into the proposed Confederation, with a representation in the Legislative Council of four members."

This resolution was, we are told, communicated to the Newfoundland delegates, and the invitation accepted by them, the right being reserved to press their claims for a larger representation in the Legislative Council.

cillors and in a general Council half the number would be a fair representation for each Province. The two Canadas have 72 Legislative Councillors. The Maritime Provinces with Newfoundland have the same number. I suggest that we take the numbers in the present Councils as our basis and allow each Province half that number in the Federal Legislative Council. This proposal was not entertained and farther debate ensued. It was advocated by some delegates to allow the Crown to add to the number of Legislative Councillors at any future time as they might deem necessary, but this was objected to by the Prince Edward Islanders and some others as it would destroy the equilibrium established between the Provinces and would be difficult to work out satisfactorily.

The resolution that for the pupose of forming a Legislative Council the Federated Provinces shall be considered as consisting of three divisions, 1st Upper Canada, 2nd Lower Canada, and 3rd Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island as the third division with equal representation from each division, was then submitted to vote, and carried; Prince Edward Island delegates dissentient.

The resolution fixing the number of Legislative Councillors at 24 for each division was then submitted to vote. The Hon. Dr. Tupper proposed 24 for each of the Canadas, 10 for Nova Scotia, 9 for New Brunswick, and 5 each for Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

This after debate was withdrawn.

Hon. Mr. Coles proposed 20 each for the two Canadas, 8 each for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and 4 each for Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

This after debate was also withdrawn.

Hon. A. A. MacDonald proposed that half the present number in each Province constitute the number in the Federal Legislative Council.

This resolution was also withdrawn.

The question on the main motion was then put and Prince Edward Island having retired and consulted decided against it by a majority. The Chairman for P. E. I. announced that decision, and all other Provinces having voted for the resolution it was declared carried.[1]

It being now 2 o'clock Conference adjourned until 7:30 p. m.

At 7:30 Conference again met and a resolution was moved "that the members of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Crown under the great seal of the General Government and hold office for life."

Hon. John A. McDonald, George Brown, Dr. Tupper and others spoke on this resolution but I have no notes of their addresses.

Hon. Mr. Coles moved, seconded by Hon. A. A. MacDonald "That at the first and all subsequent Elections of members to serve in the Upper House they shall be chosen by a majority of both branches

[1] Much of this matter is not found in the Minutes, and it is there stated that the resolution fixing the number of Legislative Councillors was carried unanimously.

of the Provincial Legislative from such qualified persons as are thirty years of age or upwards. One half of such Council to go out every four years after the first Election, to be decided by lot in first session."[1]

Mr. Coles spoke in advocacy of his resolution.

Hon. A. A. MacDonald in seconding it considered that in this way only would the popular opinion of the Province be expressed whereas in appointments made by the Crown such would not be the case and the nominee of the Crown might be the most unpopular person in the Province.

At 12 midnight Conference adjourned till 10 a. m.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18, Conference met at 10 o'clock a. m. and resumed the adjourned debate, etc.

"That the members of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Crown under the great seal of the General Government and hold office for life." The Prince Edward Island delegates withdrew and consulted as to their action. The question was asked: Shall appointment be open to all persons? and on a vote being taken, 5 voted nay, 1 voted yea. It was then asked: Shall appointments be made from present Councillors as far as qualified? Ans. No, by majority, only one voting yea.

On returning to the Conference Chamber the question was put on the main motion and it was carried unanimously by Provinces (although individual members in all Provinces did not agree).

The qualifications necessary for eligibility to serve as Legislative Councillors was then considered, and it was proposed to select them by lot from the present Legislative Councils except in Prince Edward Island, this proposition was defeated. It was then proposed to select the Legislative Councillors with due regard to local parties,— to be appointed by the General Executive Government on recommendation of the local Executive from present Legislative except as regards Prince Edward Island, this was also lost.

It was proposed that the first selection be made from duly qualified members of the Legislative Council in Canada but in the other provinces to be opened to all who possess the requisite qualifications whether now members of the Legislative Council or not, this was withdrawn.

It was then proposed to select the Legislative Council with due regard to local parties, appointments to be made by the Federal Executive on recommendation of the Local Executive from present Legislative Councils.[2]

At 11.30 the motion for adjournment was carried.

[1] This interesting motion is not entered in the Minutes as published.

[2] It would seem from the Minutes and Col. Bernard's notes that Mr. Macdonald has included in this day's business some matter that did not formally come before the Conference until the following day.

The Conference met at 10 a.m. WEDNESDAY OCT. 19,[1] and consideration of the adjourned debate resumed on resolution.

That the members of the Legislative Council for the General Government shall in the first instance be selected from the Legislative Councils of the various provinces with the exception of Prince Edward Island, so far as qualified, and debate ensuing the Prince Edward Island delegation retired to consult and on a vote of that province being taken a majority was against the resolution, which was adopted by the vote by provinces in the General Conference.

The resolution that the first Council in the Federal Legislative [*sic*] shall be appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Local Governments with due regard to claims of the opposition was then proposed and after long debate it was adopted.

Hon. Peter Mitchell being called away on his private business got leave of absence for the remainder of the Conference.

Conference adjourned at 2 p. m. until 7 p. m.

Conference resumed at 7:30 p. m.

Resolution that the basis of representation in the House of Commons shall be population and 194 members viz., Upper Canada, 82, Lower Canada 65, Nova Scotia 19, New Brunswick 15, Newfoundland 8, Prince Edward Island 5, was then put. Debate thereon continued until 10 o'clock when the motion for adjournment was carried for 10 o'clock tomorrow.[2]

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, Conference met at 10 a. m.

Several resolutions respecting sessions of Legislatures and the powers thereof were submitted. Also Resolution respecting mode of appointment of Lieutenant Governors and the duration of their holding office led to lengthy debate before they were finally adopted by the Conference.

(*Note*) Major Barnard the Executive Secretary of the Conference has given a fuller and better report of this days debates than could be made out from my notes, so I have taken his report for the 20th.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20TH.

Extracts from the minutes of Major Hewitt Barnard from Appendix VI Page 351—Vol. 1—Pope's Sir John MacDonald.[3]

[1] Bernard's notes for this day are quite extensive.

[2] According to Bernard, a long discussion arose on this and the following day from Prince Edward Island's objection to the small representation allotted to her in the House of Commons. Unfortunately Macdonald, although a delegate from the island, says nothing on the subject.

[3] In this Appendix to the first volume of his *Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald* Sir Joseph Pope published some extracts from Col. Bernard's notes, the whole of which were subsequently published in his *Confederation Documents*.

Mr. Brown:

As to local Governments, we desire in Upper Canada that they should not be expensive, and should not take up political matters. We ought not to have two electoral bodies. Only one body, members to be elected once in every three years. Should have whole legislative power—subject to Lieutenant Governor. I would have Lieutenant Governor appointed by General Government. It would thus bring these bodies into harmony with the General Government. In Upper Canada executive officers would be Attorney General, Treasurer, Secretary, Commissioner Crown Lands, and Commissioner Public Works. These would form the Council of the Lieutenant Governor. I would give Lieutenant Governor veto without advice, but under certain vote he should be obliged to assent.

During recess Lieutenant Governor could have power to suspend executive officers. They might be elected for three years or otherwise. You might safely allow County Councils to appoint other officers than those they now do. One Legislative Chamber for three years, no power of dissolution, elected on one day in each third year. Lieutenant Governor appointed by Federal Government. Departmental officers to be elected during pleasure, or for three years. To be allowed to speak but not to vote.

"Mr. Cartier:

I entirely differ with Mr. Brown. It introduces in our local bodies republican institutions. Mr. Brown moved: "That in the local Government there shall be but one Legislative Chamber."

"Sir E. Taché:

This motion is made merely to elicit opinion of Conference.

"Mr. Tilley:

New Brunswick differs from Mr. Brown. They propose to keep the existing things as they are, so far as consistent with expense. They propose Lieutenant Governor, five departmental officers, with seat in House.

"Mr. Dickey:

Before details, settle principles. Will Conference take present local Governments as models?

"Mr. Fisher: I am opposed to Mr. Brown's views. I approve of the present system of Local Legislatures. I agree with Mr. Brown that the Lieutenant Governor should be appointed by the Federal Government.

Mr. Carter:

In 1842 we had one chamber in Newfoundland partly appointed by Crown and partly by people. It worked well. An object to reduce expense.

Mr. Henry:

I think uniformity is very desirable, but you should first consider what is to be left to the Local Legislatures before you proceed to discuss their constitutions.

Mr. McGee:

No. Institute your body and then assign its powers.

Mr. Chandler:
We are here to form a constitution for Federal Government. Let the provinces otherwise remain as they are, so far as possible.

Dr. Tupper:
I agree with general principles laid down by Mr. Brown that the Governments should be as simple and inexpensive as possible. We should diminish the powers of the Local Governments, but we must not shock too largely the prejudices of the people in that respect.

Mr. McCully: We must have miniature responsible governments.
Adjourned at 2 o'clock until Friday, 21st, 10 a. m.[1]

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1864, 10 A. M.

A. A. Macdonald's notes resumed.

Financial resolutions from No. 1 to No. 9 on the minutes were discussed by the leading members of the Conference which continued in session without adjournment until 5 o'clock P. M., when the Chamber being required for other purposes the Conference adjourned.

A number of resolutions besides those above mentioned were discussed and several changes made in the original drafts of some of them. There was a very general debate in which the leaders chiefly took part. Many questions and explanations were required by the other members, and all relating to finance were replied to by Hon. Mr. Galt who has all information on that point in his head and does not often require to refer to the printed statistics, but I have no other notes of the day's debate, as I was engaged in making up a number of statistical tables along with Hon. Mr. Pope. Conference adjourned until 10 A. M.[2]

Conference reassembled on 22nd October at noon and

Hon. Mr. Galt said: It is desirable that all the Provinces should enter the Federation with the same liabilities, and secondly that all should be admitted on just principles so that no claim can hereafter be advanced on account of claims now existing. He then read the resolutions respecting financial arrangements with the Provinces and stated the reasons at length of such an arrangement. He stated that $80,000,000 was the present gross debt of all the Provinces, $25 per head is the aggregate of the debt as nearly as possible. The debt of Canada on the 1st of January last was $65,000,000 = Miscellaneous $64,000, Common School debentures $1,181,000, Indian fund $1600,000, Capitalization payable to seignorial tenures $2,900,000, Municipal $600,000, Jesuits, etc. in all $4,000,000, Total $75,578,000 is the debt of Canada. Credits on Sinking fund $4,883,000, Common School fund $1,200,000, Cash $2,848,000, Net Liabilities $68,445,953 on 1st January last. Three fourths of this debt has been incurred for public improvements tending to conduct

[1] This is not correct. There was an evening session on October 20.

[2] No reference to the discussion of financial matters on this day is made either in the Minutes or in Bernard's notes of the discussions. The subject of consideration was the powers of the General Legislature.

trade from the great West in this direction, 1st by Canals, 2ndly by Railways. We have expended $24,908,000 for Canals, $29,302,000 for Railways, about $15,000,000 in the Grand Trunk line is deferred until it realizes a certain rate of interest. Great Western Railway $2,500,000, a preference claim of $1,000,000 comes in before us, but it is now paying interest on the Railway debt, Northern Railway $2,300,000, Municipal Loan funds about $9,000,000.

The liabilities of	Nova Scotia about	$5,000,000
" " "	New Brunswick	5,700,000
" " "	Newfoundland	1,000,000
" " "	Prince Ed. Island	250,000
" " "	Canada	68,445,950
Making a total indebtedness of		$80,395,950

$25 per head will represent $62,500,000 for Canada while the debt is $69,000,000. In New Brunswick it will about represent the same proportion; in Nova Scotia also. In Newfoundland the debt is about $8 per head, they will be charged with interest on that and will receive credit for $25 per head. The debt of Prince Edward Island is $3 per head, consequently it will benefit by $22 per head as a subsidy. It is plain the Local Governments cannot exist without a subvention from the General Government, or resorting to direct taxation, a subvention is the best means. The General Government must desire to make the charges for local Governments as light as possible while the Local Governments would have an opposite interest. I trust whatever the amount of the subvention may be that it will not be changed hereafter. It should be definitely settled now and not doubled when the population of any Province doubles.

Hon. Mr. Tilley stated the objections he held against Mr. Galt's scheme. The Federal Government would take all the public property and proposed nothing in return for this . Our Railway now pays one and a half per cent on the cost of the road or $60,000 over working expenses, wear and tear. Mr. Galt proposes to take this from us and allow us nothing in return. A large part of Canada's debt arises from interest on its railway debts. I should like to know what the value of your Railway debt would be after paying preference bonds? The Great Western Railway is the only one I look upon as a valuable asset, as it pays the Interest or part of it on its indebtedness. Suppose we construct the line between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick a part of the Intercolonial, will the receipts from it go into the general Revenue and are we to have no benefit from them?

Hon. Mr. Galt: I admit that the question of what future liabilities you incur is one of great importance that we should consider. The whole of the public works are given to the Confederation, etc., etc., etc., etc.

Hon. Messrs. Tilley & Brown, Tilley & Galt discussed this question at length. . . . . .

Hon. Dr. Tupper said that $20,000,000 of Canada's debt in the Grand Trunk line is not represented by any assets paid into the public

Treasury, while Nova Scotia's Railways could be sold tomorrow for fifty per cent of cost, etc., etc., etc. Dr. Tupper continued his criticism of the financial aspects of the Lower Provinces and the position they would find them selves in if such proposals were adopted. He spoke at considerable length but the writer had no opportunity to note his remarks, as the other Island delegates had requested him to get up certain statistics respecting their Province, and to convert the Island Currency as given in the official returns, which gave only the Island Currency, into Dollars and Cents, Canadian Currency.[1]

The debate on the foregoing questions was continued by Messrs. Galt, Tilley, Archibald, Tupper, McCully, Coles, Chandler, Steeves, Dickey, Henry and nearly all the members of the Conference took part in it. The debate continued until 10 o'clock when the Conference adjourned until Monday, the 24th at 10 A. M., when being met a lengthy discussion followed chiefly on the financial resolutions, for report of some of the speeches I again refer to Major Barnard's report as given in Appendix vi page 352, Pope's Sir John Macdonald, a copy hereto annexed.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 24th.

Extract from minutes of Major Hewitt Bernard from Appendix vi page 351, Vol 1—Pope's Sir John Macdonald.

Mr. Mowatt moved (a resolution defining the powers of the Local Legislature[2]).

Mr. Chandler: I object to the proposed system. You are adopting a Legislative Union instead of a Federal. The Local Legislatures should not have their powers specified, but should have all the powers not reserved to the Federal Government, and only the powers to be given to the Federal Government should be specified. You are now proceeding to destroy the Constitutions of the Local Governments, and to give them less powers than they have allowed[3] them from England, and it will make them merely large Municipal Corporations. This is a vital question, which decides the question between a Federal and Legislative Union, and it will be fatal to the success of Confederation in the Lower Provinces.

Dr. Tupper: I have heard Mr. Chandler's argument with surprise. Powers undefined must rest somewhere. Those who were at Charlottetown will remember that it was fully specified there that all the powers not given to Local should be reserved to the Federal Government. This was stated as being a prominent feature of the Canadian scheme, and it was said then that it was desirable to have a plan contrary to that adopted by the United States. It was a fundamental principle laid down by Canada and the basis of our deliberations. Mr. Chandler says that it gives a Legislative instead

[1] We have here, however, a much better report of this important discussion than that published from Bernard's notes.

[2] Read "Legislatures."

[3] Read "have had allowed."

of a Federal Union. I think that a benefit. Is the Federal Government to be one of mere delegates? We have provided for a legislative representation and for the representation of every section of all the Provinces. Such a costly Government ought to be charged with the fullest powers. It will be easier for every one of the remotest settlers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to reach the Federal Legislature than the present Local Legislatures. If it were not for the peculiar condition of Lower Canada and that the Lower Provinces have not municipal systems such as Upper Canada, I should go in for a Legislative Union instead of a Federal. We propose to preserve the Local Governments in the Lower Provinces because we have not Municipal Institutions. If Conference limit the powers of the General Legislature, I feel that the whole platform is swept away from us.

Mr. Coles: I did not understand this was laid down as a basis at Charlottetown. I thought there the only thing specified was representation by population in Lower House. I agree with Mr. Chandler's views.

Mr. Haviland: I disagree with Messrs. Chandler and Coles. I understood the basis of our scheme, so as to avoid difficulties of United States, is to give limited powers to local Legislatures.

Colonel Gray, N. B.; Mr. Cole's memory is hurt[1] (Quotes from Mr. McDonald's speech at Charlottetown and from Mr. Brown's that Federal Government was to have general powers and limited as to local). Whatever conclusion we may now arrive at, such was the basis of the Canadian scheme.

Mr. Chandler: My argument is not met as to merits, but as to what was laid down at Charlottetown. We all agree that local Government should have local powers, we differ as to whether such powers should be defined.

Dr. Tupper: Under Mr. Chandler's view the Governor General would be less than the Lieutenant Governor, and the Federal Government less than the local.

Mr. Dickey: I propose a Supreme Court of Appeal to decide any conflict between general and state rights. I am rather inclined to agree with Mr. Chandler. Immense interests omitted in Mr. Mowat's motion.

Mr. Brown: This matter received close attention of Canadian Government. I should agree wih Mr. Chandler were it not that we have done all we can to settle the matter with sufficient powers to local Legislatures.

I would let the Courts of each Province decide what is local, and what general Government jurisdiction, with appeal to the Appeal or Superior Court.

Mr. McCully: I refer to New Zealand Act, which is evidently framed to meet difficulty. It strongly[2] defines what the local Governments shall not do. In 53rd clause General Assembly to make laws, etc., for government of New Zealand, and shall control and supersede

[1] Read "short."

[2] Read "strangely".

those of local Governments repugnant thereto. Mr. Brown will land us in position of United States by referring matter of conflict of jurisdiction to Courts. You thus set them over the General Legislature.

Mr. Attorney General MacDonald:

New Zealand constitution was a legislative Union, ours federal. Emigrants went out under different guarantees. Local charters jarred. In order to guard these they gave the powers stated to local Legislatures, but the General Government had power to sweep these away.

That is just what we do not want. Lower Canada and the Lower Provinces would not have such a thing. There is no analogy between New Zealand and ourselves in such respects. Our Courts now can decide where there is any conflict between the Imperial and Canadian Statutes. I think the whole affair would fail, and the system be a failure, if we adopted Mr. Chandler's views. It would be adopting the worst features of the United States. We should concentrate the power in the Federal Government, and not adopt the decentralization of the United States. Mr. Chandler would give sovereign power to the local Legislatures, just where the United States failed. Canada would be infinitely stronger as she is than under such a system as proposed by Mr. Chandler. It is said the tariff is one of the causes of difficulty in the United States. So it would be with us. Looking at agricultural interests of Upper Canada, manufacturing of Lower Canada, and maritime interests of lower Provinces, in respect to a Tariff, a federal Government would be a mediator. No general feeling of patriotism exists in the United States. In occasions of difficulty each man sticks to his individual State. Mr. Stephens, the present Vice President, a strong Union man, yet, when time came, he went with his State. Similarly we should each stick to our Province and not be British Americans. It would be introducing a source of radical weakness. It would ruin us in the eyes of the civilized world. All writers point out errors of United States. All the failings prognosticated by De Tocqueville are shown to be fulfilled.

Mr. Johnson: Enumerate for local Governments their powers, and give all the rest to general Government but do not enumerate both.

Mr. Palmer: Easier to define what are general, than what are local subjects, but we cannot define both. We cannot meet every possible case or emergency.

Mr. Henry: We should not define powers of general Legislature. I would ask Lower Canada not to fight for a shadow. Give a clause to give general powers (except such as given to local Legislatures) to federal Legislature. Anything beyond that is hampering the case with difficulties. If we are to have Confederation let us have one on the principles suggested by Attorney General MacDonald. In United States there is no power to settle constitutionality of an Act. Hereafter we shall be bound by an Imperial Act, and our judges will have to say what is constitutional under it as regards general or local Legislation.

Mr. Dickey: Why did Imperial statutes give the powers they did to New Zealand General Government?

Mr. Chandler: My plan is not precisely the same as United States, because Government does not in United States appoint the Lieutenant Governors and the Legislative Councillors. If my plan is not adopted, I should have elective Legislative Councillors.

Colonel Gray, N. B.: The power flows from Imperial Government. We propose to substitute the Federal Government for the Imperial Government but the Federal Government is itself subordinate to the Imperial Government. And as to the policy of the thing, I think it best to define the powers of the local Governments, as the public will then see what matters they have reserved for their consideration, with which matters they will be familiar, and so the humbler classes and the less educated will comprehend that their interests are protected.

end of Major Bernard's notes

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1864.

The financial arrangements still formed the chief subject of discussion. Several sets of resolutions on other subjects were submitted and agreed to chiefly those referring to the jurisdiction of the local and general legislatures, the judiciary, etc.

On consideration of the subject of Education it was moved by Hon. Darcy [*sic*] McGee and seconded by Hon. A. A. McDonald.

"That it be resolved that all rights and privileges which any denomination now possesses in respect to denominational schools or in educational matters shall be preserved to them by the constitution and shall not be abridged by Legislation."

(*Note*) This may not be the literal wording of the resolution, but such is its import. My note on it being an imperfect draft.[1]

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

Conference adjourned until 10 a. m. on Wednesday.[2]

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 26, 1864. Conference met at 10 a. m.

Hon. Mr. Pope submitted a statement of the position in which Prince Edward Island would stand in the financial arrangement proposed if it entered Confederation on those terms, and nearly every member of the Island delegation spoke on this question showing that it was impossible for the Government to be carried on there with such limited income.

Hon. Mr. Coles moved seconded by Hon. A. A. MacDonald, Whereas the question of Land tenures in Prince Edward Island is the cause of great discontent and the source of much agitation, and in order to

[1] According to the Minutes, the amendment consisted in adding to the clause which assigned education to the control of the local legislatures the words:

"Saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant or Catholic minority in both Canadas may possess as to their denominational schools at the time when the Constitutional Act goes into operation."

[2] Bernard's notes end with this day's discussion.

settle the same it is necessary that the lands held by Absentee proprietors should be purchased at a reasonable rate by Government and resold to the tenants and whereas Prince Edward Island has no Crown lands, mines or minerals from which money can be realized to purchase the said proprietary lands and it is requisite for the prosperity of the Island that the said land question should be settled. Resolved therefore that a sum equal to the interest of the amount necessary to purchase the said lands be paid annually to Prince Edward Island in consideration of this question.

Hon. Mr. Coles spoke in support of his resolution as to the present state of the land question and what the local Government had done in its efforts to have the land tenures settled. He referred to the general benefits such a measure would have and its effect upon the views of the people on the subject of Confederation.

Hon. A. A. MacDonald said that the only advantage he could see that would accrue to the people of his Province under the proposed Confederation would be to have the lands purchased by the Government. This the local Government might accomplish through time without entering into Confederation but it must take many years to do it. Even if the lands were to be purchased by the general Government and handed over to the local Government to be disposed of to the tenants the funds arising from the sale would not constitute a permanent source of revenue. They would be all disposed of in a few years and the money would be expended for local improvements owing to the necessities of the Province while we would be taxed as much per head as we now pay and have besides to pay our proportion of the Federal taxation the same as all the other Provinces. Our local and Federal taxation would be more than we could bear. We would have to pay our portion of the railway debt without a railroad throughout our Province. It is a matter of indifference to our people whether the Intercolonial Railroad is built at all or not. Being an insular Province and entirely cut off from the mainland by the Ice for nearly half the year we need fear no foreign invasion and being but a small Province offer no inducements to a foreign invader to make war on us while so many richer Provinces offer more prizes and lie between us and any possible foe. We are loyal subjects of our gracious Queen and she would not see us cut off from protection while we put forth our own efforts to protect our shores. It would require more liberal financial terms than any yet proposed to induce our people to support a Federal Union if they were to form a portion of it. (He referred to the increased Tariff as compared with present local).

Hon. Mr. Galt said that the duties of Canada will be materially lessened under any circumstances and will be readjusted with reference to the position of all the Provinces and their duties after Confederation.

Conference adjourned at midnight after a number of resolutions had been passed.

THURSDAY, OCT. 27, 1864. Conference met at 10 a. m.

A number of resolutions which had been under consideration at previous sessions were adopted this morning and the whole read

over. Most of the delegates left early. I was the only Islander at the Conference during these formal proceedings. It was decided to have the resolutions of the Conference printed and submitted to the delegates at Montreal to be authenticated by their signatures and the Conference then adjourned to meet at Montreal tomorrow.

A brief session was held at the St. Louis Hotel[1] on October 29th but the printed report of the Conference resolutions was not ready and an adjournment was agreed upon till arrival at Ottawa.[2]

[1] The Minutes read "St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal."

[2] There is no reference in the Minutes to this adjournment to Ottawa.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A BRITISH SECRET SERVICE REPORT ON CANADA, 1711[1]

Among the officers who served in the expedition of 1710 against Port Royal in Acadia was a Major John Livingstone, of the family of Livingstons of New York. When Port Royal surrendered, General Nicholson and the English council of war determined to send Livingstone with despatches to Vaudreuil, the French governor, at Quebec. He was to be accompanied by the younger St. Castine, who was sent by Subercase, the French commander, to inform Vaudreuil of the loss of Acadia. Livingstone and St. Castine set out from Annapolis Basin on October 19 (O.S.) and, after a trying journey by way of the Penobscot River, arrived at Quebec on December 6, 1710. Major Livingstone has left an interesting journal of his visit to Canada, from the brief entries in which we can conclude that he was shown every courtesy and entertained royally by the authorities and people at Quebec. On January 10, Livingstone and two French envoys, Rouville and Dupuys, left Quebec on the return journey, proceeding this time up the north shore of the St. Lawrence as far as Lac St. Pierre, where they crossed to the south side and continued as far as Longueuil. From Longueuil they crossed to Chambly on the Richelieu River, and thence made their way by the Lake Champlain route and Albany to Boston, where they arrived February 23.

On March 20 Colonel Vetch, governor of the newly named Annapolis Royal, wrote from Boston that Major Livingstone was sailing for England, to lay a full account of his negotiations in Canada before the Queen and the ministry. Preparations had long been under way for the expedition against Quebec which Sir Hovenden Walker led with such ill success the following summer, and it was, doubtless, in connection therewith that the following report on the defences of Canada was prepared. In fact, we may believe that it was chiefly to obtain just this information that Livingstone was sent on his mission in the first instance.

Livingstone's was one of many attempts on the part of the

[1] London : Public Record Office, C.O. 42, vol. 13. Transcript in Public Archives of Canada.

English, from time to time, to obtain information regarding the fortifications of Quebec and the condition of Canada. The most famous account was that prepared by Patrick Mackellar in 1757 and used by Wolfe (*Knox's Journal*, Champlain Society ed., vol. III, pp. 151-160). It may be compared with Livingstone's. The most illuminating parallel, however, to the present document—so far as it relates to the defences of Quebec—is the report of the French engineer, Chaussegros de Léry, in 1716 (*Documents relating to the History of the State of New York*, Vol. IX, pp. 872-874). Unfortunately the map which accompanied this report is not available, but we have another by the same hand of about the same date (*Report on Canadian Archives* for 1905, vol. I). For the rest of the colony, Livingstone's account should be compared with the contemporary one of Gédéon de Catalogne (*Documents relating to the Seigniorial Tenure*, ed. by W. B. Munro for the Champlain Society, pp. 94-151), and with the legends on the Murray Map of Canada (*Catalogue of Maps in the Dominion Archives*, App. C).

James F. Kenney

[*Transcript.*]

1710

A View of Canada taken by Major John Livingstone with Acco^{t}. of Fortifications and number of men

Decem^{r} 27th	Quebeck	G. Guns	Pateraro's[1]
French 250 150	There is in Quebeck Town[2] Two hundred and fifty men of y^{e} Melitia, and One hundred and fifty soldiers in y^{e} kings pay, two batteries in y^{e} Lower Town, the Westermost[3] has a street to y^{e} Northward of it.	11	..
	About Sixty yards off N E at y^{e} River side..	.1	..
	About 100 yards farther N at y^{e} River side is y^{e} other Battery[4], six twenty four pounders, w^{h} are y^{e} biggest in y^{e} Town.....	.6	..
	Upon y^{e} Hill to y^{e} Northward of y^{e} Bishops house Lies a mortar alone.....		

[1] Pateraroes, or pedreros, small cannon used for firing stones and broken iron.

[2] A plan of Quebec, prepared in 1720 or earlier by the engineer Chaussegros de Léry, is published in th *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1905, vol. I.

[3] The *Batterie Royale.*

[4] The *Batterie Dauphine.*

French	Indians		G. Guns,	Pater-aro's
		About 200 yards N N W turning ye Point to ye Little River[1] in ye Priests Garden[2] a brass mortar and five Guns	5	..
		As you goe Round to ye hospitall[3] along the River	.3	..
		On the Right hand of ye way going Down to ye Intendants[4] five Guns, next ye Little River	.5	..
		A Little Farther along sd River Just by ye Intendants	.2	..
		And as you turn up, at ye Intendants, there is a Gate and a little above yt Gate is three Guns west, & a small Clockhouse upon ye works[5]	.3	..
		And fifty yards farther S E as you goe up the Hill, is a Levell peice of Ground, & another Gate,[6] & a Little further up the Hill, is a Small watchhouse on ye works, and in it is	.3	..
		And from thence 'till you come to ye Stone-wall there is 2 or 3 halfe moons, one wthin another & 2 Guns Course S E	.2	..
		And on ye Top of ye Hill, in ye Stone wall is six Guns & a Gate[7] in sd wall	.6	..
		About 50 yds within in sd wall N is a Square place made of bricks, & a house in ye midle of it, wh I call a Magazine & in it 5 Guns /.. On ye Other side	.5	.. ..
		And N W. From this square there is a wind mill & a small Battery[8] of 5 Guns, and a little further N N W Two Guns	.7	..
		And along ye River at ye Stone wall upon		

[1] The River St. Charles.

[2] The grounds of the Seminary. Apparently on the site of the great battery (afterwards known as *Le Clergé en Barbette*, and still later as the Grand Battery).

[3] The *Hôtel Dieu*.

[4] The Intendant's Palace.

[5] Probably the defences of *Coteau de la Potasse*. Livingstone's knowledge of the fortifications on the landward side of Quebec seems to have been but slight, and it is difficult to follow his topography.

[6] Palace Gate.

[7] St. Louis Gate.

[8] Probably what was known as the *Cavalier du Moulin*, but Livingstone's description is obscure.

French	Indians		G. Guns.	Pater-aro's
		the hill, there is a Clock house[1] I saw no Guns in it & further N E. upon ye Hill at ye top of it there is work hove up,[2] and Stockadoes, till you come to ye Fort,[3] where is 17 Guns planted, against ye River, & 11 Pateroroes, in this place ye Governr Lives[4] ..	17	11
		As you goe into ye Fort there is 11 Guns planted, and Over ye Little River at Bone Porto[5] is 2 Guns	13	..
		By Information		
400		Upon ye Island of Orleans there is 300 Families and can raise about four hundred men..		
		At Shaterosha[6] five Guns near Cape Diamond[7]	.5	..
400		At Shaterosha, Sharleboo[8] at [9] Bompre[10], about Four hundred men all Melitia. This Island of Orleans lyes about a League below Quebeck, and Shaterosha seven Leagues on ye N W. Shoar; Sharleboo at[9] Bompre, on sd Shoar near to Quebeck all inhabited.	–	
50		Down ye River of Quebeck fifteen Leagues at River dela, & Dormont,[11] wh is on ye S E side of sd River about 50 families.		
	50	At Lorett[12] which makes ye Little River of Quebeck about Four Leagues From sd Town, is an Indian Town, about fifty men.		
	70	Of ye nation of Orquanshaws, which Inhabitt all along ye Great River of Quebeck about 70 men		
70		On ye S E side of ye River Over against Quebeck, of ye Stragling inhabitants, from the River De Lesolier to ye River Deleiu,[13] which is 18 Leagues there is about 70 men		
		From Quebeck to a Village which is Called		

[1] Apparently what was known as the *Demi-Bastion de Joubert.*
[2] The Cape Diamond Redoubt.
[3] Fort St. Louis.
[4] The *Château St. Louis*, part of the fort.
[5] Beauport.
[6] Château Richer.
[7] An error. But there seems to be some defect in the text in this part.
[8] Charlesbourg.
[9] Read "and".
[10] Beaupré.
[11] Not identified.
[12] Jeune Lorette.
[13] Not identified. Should we read "River Chaudière to River Du Chêne"?

French	Indians		G. Guns.	Pater-aro's
		Ponta Tromble[1] is 7 Leagues ye Inhabitants settled along ye River, including ye Village about 160 men by Observation/[2]		
		From Ponta Tromble to Port Nuff[3] is seven Leagues, along ye River is a small fort ye in-		
40		habitants about forty men as you goe along.		
		About 3 Leagues farther a Village Called		
70		Gronden[4] about 70 men		
		Two Leagues farther a Seigniory called St		
40		Ann where is about forty men.		
		And two Leagues farther a Village called		
90		Shamplin,[5] about 90 men		
		Two Leagues farther a village called Bots-		
100		cank[6] about One hundred men		
		And From thence to Troy River[7] wh is Four		
70		Leagues along sd River about 70 men		
		At Troy River which is thirty Leagues above Quebeck, a place Stockadoed in, about 200 yards long, and near ye same breadth, in wh is severall housen, and is ye Governrs Resi- dence is seven Guns 80 soldiers, and about		
160		ye same number of Inhabitants.....	.7	..
		From Troy River to a place Called st Fran- coise[8] wh place lyes on ye south East part of L. st Peer,[9] about Forty inhabitants up sd River. And about Two Leagues farther up,		
	260	an Indian fort called st franswa[10] 260 men.		
		From st franswa to Sorrell is about four Leagues to ye fort in ye mouth of Shamblee River,[11] where is forty soldiers, and about		
70		thirty Inhabitants		

[1] Pointe aux Trembles.

[2] On his return journey up the St. Lawrence River.

[3] Portneuf.

[4] Grondines.

[5] Champlain.

[6] Batiscan. Livingstone has reversed the respective positions of Batiscan and Champlain. The same mistake occurs in the journal. Evidently both documents were written from memory or imperfect notes.

[7] Trois Rivières—Three Rivers.

[8] The seigniory of St. François.

[9] Lac St. Pierre.

[10] The Abenaki Indian village of St. François.

[11] Richelieu River.

French	Indians		G. Guns.	Pater-aro's
		Up ye River Shamblee, about 18 Leagues to ye fort, is no inhabitants.		
		From Sorell by way of st Toer,[1] Counter-cure[2] Verseer,[3] & severall other Seigniories, we have small forts, two Leagues ye one from ye other along the East side of Quebeck River up to Longolia[4] is 18 Leagues, For ye		
300		most part inhabited along ye River side, about 300 Inhabitants.		
		From thence Cross ye woods 5 Leagues Course S E & by E upon ye River Shamblee is a stone Fort[5] / about 16 foot high, and as I Guess about 80 yds one way and fifty ye other, Each Corner a Bastion, about Twenty Foot Out, six great Guns, 100 soldiers, and about 20 inhabitants, stands at ye foot of the		
120		riplings on ye N W Side of ye River.	.6	..
		From Longolia to Laparee, de Muda Ane[6] wc lies up Quebeck river is 4 Leagues there is a fort at sd villiage with four guns but out of Repair, and by information 100 inhabi-		
120		tants and 20 soldiers.	.4	..
		From thence along sd River 2 Leagues an		
	250	Indian fort called Nonoh-nowagoo,[7] 250 men		
		There is some small force more up sd River which I could not gain Pticular Information of.		
	*sic	From Troy River along ye N W Side of ther*		
		Great River to River De Lu[8] and so to ye End of ye Island of Mount Royall, wc is 23		
200		Leagues stragling inhabitants about 200		
		From ye N E part of Mount Royall Island to ye Town of Mount Royall, (including the villiage of Ponta Tromble,[9] where there is a small Fort of stockadoes) being 7 Leagues, all ye inhabitants, including some of ye Islands		
400		of ye Great River are about 400 men.		

[1] St. Ours.
[2] Contrecœur.
[3] Verchères.
[4] Longueuil.
[5] Fort Chambly.
[6] La Prairie de la Magdelaine.
[7] Caughnawaga.
[8] Rivière du Loup.
[9] Pointe aux Trembles.

French	Indians		G. Guns.	Peter-aro's
		At the Town of Mount Royall wᶜ is all Stockadoed round with Cedar Stockadoes, about 16 Foot high, and Bastions yᵉ Length of 1400 yᵈˢ and 34 yᵈˢ wide, 26 Guns, 11 Patereroes, 280 Officers & soldiers 300 In-		
580		habitants	26	11
		From thence to yᵉ S W part of yᵉ Island wʰ is ten Leagues inhabited scattering abᵗ 150		
150		men		
		About 3 Leagues N W. from Mount Royall an Indian fort called Canowsadago, or		
	200	L'Mountia[1] where is 200 Indians		
		A Stone forte at Codroque[2] wᶜ is 80 Leagues From Mᵗ Royall up yᵉ River called Fonte-		
		nac[3] at yᵉ mouth of yᵉ Lake called Cod-		
		roque[4] where is 40 soldiers, as I guess about 8 Guns, no Inhabitants		
4070	830		145	22

[1] Canasadaga, or Kanesatake, an Iroquois word signifying "on the mountain side." The Christian Iroquois of this village, now settled at Oka on the Lake of Two Mountains, were, before 1720, at Sault au Récollet.

[2] Cataraqui.

[3] Frontenac: the upper St. Lawrence.

[4] Lake Ontario.

AN UNPUBLISHED STATE PAPER, 1868

At the close of the Civil War the relations of the United States with Great Britain and with Canada were not cordial. The two questions affecting Canada which served to keep matters on a doubtful basis were the Atlantic fisheries and the tariff. Canada desired to renew the Elgin Treaty of 1854 which had settled both these issues for ten years, but which had been abrogated by the United States. On more than one occasion delegates from Canada had gone to Washington with offers either to renew the treaty or to propose such modifications as changed commercial conditions appeared to render necessary. These negotiations had proved fruitless. At one stage when the settlement took the form of

proposed concurrent legislation at Ottawa and Washington, George Brown, the Liberal leader, resigned from the Coalition Ministry, giving this as the reason for resigning. The union of the British North American Provinces went into effect July 1st, 1867, and the relations of the new Dominion with the republic remained unsettled.

It was considered advisable to make a fresh attempt to open negotiations. The Canadian Government in 1869 sent the Minister of Finance, John Rose, to Washington, acting, it is believed, on a hint from the British Minister, Sir Edward Thornton, that the time was propitious. Rose was a lawyer of marked abilities, especially in the practice of commercial and financial law, and he possessed the qualities of diplomacy and tact which fitted him for a mission of this kind. But he, too, was unsuccessful, and the question of reciprocity, which was at that period bound up with the disputed fishing rights on the Atlantic coast, remained in abeyance for some time. Rose went to live in England, as a member of the banking firm of Morton, Rose & Company, and became one of the financial advisers of the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII). He was, therefore, no longer a member of the Canadian House of Commons when the mission he had undertaken in 1869 became a subject of lively discussion in Parliament in March, 1870. It was charged by L. S. Huntington, who moved an address in favour of obtaining from the imperial authorities all necessary powers to enable Canada to enter into direct communication with foreign states for the purpose of creating a customs union, that the Rose mission provided for free trade in manufactures between Canada and the United States. He stated that he had seen the memorandum drawn up by Mr. Rose and Mr. Fish, acting for the United States, and that this was one of its provisions. This was denied by Sir Francis Hincks, who succeeded Rose as Finance Minister, and also by Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister.

The importance of this episode in international relations has always been recognized and a certain air of mystery has gathered around the controversy because no state papers on the subject were published. President Grant, in reply to a request from Congress, declared that there were no papers. The Canadian Prime Minister stated, during the debate on the Huntington motion, that the communications between Thornton, Rose, and Fish were unofficial and confidential and could not be made public.

The first official paper on the circumstances connected with

the Rose mission to see the light is the despatch which is presented herewith. It bears date September 3, 1868, and was thus written prior to Rose's departure for Washington. The original is in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa. The subject dealt with, as will be seen, is the question of whether and to what extent, trade arrangements between Canada and the United States might involve discriminatory duties against the products of the Empire.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

[*Transcript.*]

CONFIDENTIAL.

The Minister of Finance to whom has been referred the despatch of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, under date the 24th July, 1868, transmitting a copy of a letter from the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, on the subject of the admission of certain articles (under the provision of the recent Customs Act of the Dominion of Canada) duty free, from the British American Provinces, not included in the Dominion; and on the power reserved by the same Act to admit the like articles, when the growth and product of the United States, either duty free or on reciprocal terms, so soon as the United States shall provide for the importation thereof on corresponding terms into that country,—has the honor to report:

The first of these objects has been already fully discussed by the undersigned in a report which he had the honor of laying before, and which was approved of by His Excellency in Council, on the 25th Jany last.

It is believed that the special circumstances which are set forth in that report, and the important political considerations which are involved, fully outweigh any objections which may be taken to the theoretical sanction given to the imposition of discriminating duties on the articles in question.

My Lords while reiterating the views expressed by them on former occasions on economical grounds, admit that the provisions in question are consistent with the policy heretofore pursued by the North American Provinces, and as His Grace the Colonial Secretary, intimates that he is not prepared to object to that policy, this portion of the despatch would not seem to call for further observation.

The second point as stated by His Grace, viz.:

> "the exclusive favor which substantially, or at all events, apparently might be conferred on the United States, if the clause providing for the admission of certain products of that country, in the event of certain contingencies, should come into operation; and which His Grace is pleased to say: he fears could not be acceded to," raises a question of such deep import to the people

of this Dominion, that the undersigned deems it in his duty to advert to the course which has hitherto been pursued by Her Majesty's Government with reference to it, in the conviction that further consideration will lead His Grace to withdraw the objections, which by anticipation have been advanced.

The peculiar position in which Canada and the United States stand to each other makes it for their mutual interest to exchange certain articles on reciprocal terms.

The truth of this proposition has never been denied by Her Majesty's Government, but on the contrary their influence has been invariably exercised in furtherance of such reciprocal arrangements.

As early as 1848, Mr. Crampton, Her Majesty's representative at Washington was instructed by Lord Palmerston to urge on the American Government the establishment of reciprocal Free Trade in natural products between Canada and the United States; and on the appointment of Sir Henry Bulwer, his successor in 1849, the Imperial Government specially directed him to continue those negotiations, to the successful termination of which, in the despatch of Lord Palmerston, it was stated Her Majesty's Government attached the very highest importance.

The consideration of the subject continued to be repeatedly pressed on the American Government between that time and the year 1854.

In the latter year the Treaty known as the Reciprocity Treaty, was finally concluded, admitting certain natural products of each country free into the other, without any qualification as to the differential or discriminating character of its provisions.

On the anticipated abrogation of that Treaty by the United States in 1865, Her Majesty's Government again lent the weight of their influence in favor of its continuance, and Her Majesty's representative at Washington was persistent in his efforts, as well to prevent its termination, as subsequently to effect its renewal.

Indeed, since the period of its abrogation by the action of the United States Congress, the propriety of its renewal has been an object of avowed solicitude on the part of the Imperial Government.

In 1865, the Delegates from Canada who visited England for the purpose of conferring with Her Majesty's Government on various important matters affecting the interests of the Dominion, were again assured that Sir Frederick Bruce, Her Majesty's representative at Washington, had received instructions to negotiate for a renewal of the Treaty, and to act in concert with the Government of Canada to that end.

It thus appears that the principle of establishing special trade relations on reciprocal terms between Canada and the United States has been uniformly recognized and approved of by Her Majesty's Government since the year 1848.

The question has, however, been raised by the Government of the United States, whether the arrangements ought properly to be effected by means of a Treaty, or in the form of reciprocal Legislation.

Objections were taken to the former course during the first negotiations in 1848, and in order to remove them, it was proposed that concurrent legislation should be had by Canada and the United States of America, under which the products of each country should be admitted

free into the other. The two Bills proposed at that time, the one by Canada and the other by the United States are almost identical in their terms with the clause to which My Lords now take exception.

It is worthy of note that the object and scope of the legislation then proposed by Canada, were specially brought under the notice of Her Majesty's Government, at the time and in a Despatch from Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Governor General of Canada, His Lordship states—"that Her Majesty's Government can have no objection to the repeal by the Provincial Legislature of the Duties enumerated in the Bill."

On that occasion the Lords of the Privy Council of Trade were pleased to observe, in reference to the reciprocal legislation proposed by Canada, to meet the provisions of a similar Bill then before Congress, that "My Lords considering the various interests in Canada which may be affected by the measure, and that the questions involved in it bear more upon the welfare of Canada than of Great Britain, recommend it to be left entirely to the decision of the provincial Legislature." That Bill having been passed by the Legislature, was specially transmitted for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure by the Governor General, and after full deliberation by the Imperial Government, and a consideration of its provisions by the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, it was formally assented to by Her Majesty.

If any further approval of the character of the legislation were needed, it will be found in a Despatch of Lord Palmerston to Sir H. Bulwer, under date the 1st November, 1849, in which His Lordship states,—"that Her Majesty's Government regard it as of the very highest importance, both commercially and politically, that free admission to the market of the United States should be obtained for those articles which are enumerated in an Act passed in the last Session of the Canadian Parliament, of which I enclose a copy for your information."

This is the same Act as that already referred to.

The exercise of the power conferred by that Bill was however prevented by the failure of Congress to pass its measure, and before reciprocal Legislation could be had, the Treaty of 1854 was entered into.

That Treaty afterwards received the formal sanction of the Imperial Parliament (17th & 18th Vic. c. 3).

On the expiry of the Treaty in 1865, negotiations took place for its renewal, and the question which had been originally raised by Mr. Clayton, the American Secretary of State, in 1848, as to whether Trade relations might properly and constitutionally be regulated by Treaty, was again raised by the American Government.

Mr. McCulloch, the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury in his annual Report for 1865, thus adverts to the objections:

"There are grave doubts whether Treaties of this character do not interfere with the legislative power of Congress, and especially with the constitutional power of the House of Representatives to originate Revenue Bills."

"It is certain that in the arrangement of our complex system of revenue through the tariff and internal duties, the Treaty has been the

source of no little embarrassment. The subject of the Revenue should not be embarrassed by treaty stipulations, but Congress should be left to act freely and independently. Any arrangement between the United States and the Canadas and Provinces, that may be considered mutually beneficial, can as readily be carried out by reciprocal legislation as by any other means. No complaint would then arise as to subsequent changes of laws, for each party would be free to act at all times, according to its discretion.

"It is desirable to diminish the temptations now existing for smuggling, and if the course suggested, of mutual legislation, should be adopted, a revenue system both internal and external, more in harmony with our own, might justly be anticipated from the action of our neighbours, by which this result would be most likely to be obtained."

To meet the objection thus repeatedly urged by the Government of the United States, the clause in the Canada Customs Bill of 1868, to which His Grace calls attention was inserted; the sole object of that clause being that Canada might by means of reciprocal legislation (in case the United States preferred that course) perform its part towards the accomplishment of an object, which, as has been shewn, Her Majesty's Government had repeatedly urged on the United States, and sanctioned both by direct negotiation with that power;—by the solemnity of a Treaty, and by a formal engagement with the Canadian Delegates.

The undersigned has felt it to be so important, that any negotiations which may take place with the United States for the re-establishment of free commercial intercourse between them and Canada, should be untrammelled, that he has perhaps entered at needless detail into a review of the past history of this question and possibly given rise to the impression that in carrying on these negotiations in the future, it is intended, or that it will be necessary to disregard the sound rules of political economy adverted to by My Lords, or practically to violate the International Treaty Engagements of Great Britain, entitling Foreign powers to participate in any concessions which Canada may grant to the United States.

If the obnoxious clause were put in operation, it would only renew in effect an almost identical provision in the Act of 1849, and in the Treaty of 1854.

In the correspondence adverted to in the Despatch of His Grace, which took place on the subject of the Treaty, it was shewn that its operation was not to put an end to, nor even to diminish in any sensible degree, the import from other places than the United States, of articles admitted free under its provisions, nor to subject either England or Foreigh Countries, to any practical disadvantage in reference to the import of their products into Canada. Any exemptions which the United States and Canada might respectively find it for their advantage to accord could hardly in their very nature, influence the trade of either country with Foreign nations, since they would probably be limited to the interchange of those products of the two Countries, which, from their proximity, each might profitably interchange with the other, but which neither would receive to any sensible extent from other nations, even if no reciprocal arrangements existed.

The enquiry made by His Grace touching the articles enumerated in schedule D, viz.: "Whether there would be any serious inconvenience to Canada, in the application of the same exemptionfrom duty, to similar articles from all other Foreign Countries, and from Great Britain," in case Canada admitted them free from the United States, will be answered by the subjoined table which distinguishes the amount of duty collected on each of those articles,—the growth and produce of the United States,—the growth and produce of Great Britain, and the growth and produce of Foreign Countries.

In conclusion, the undersigned trusts that as the circumstances of political exigency and the important national considerations which, as stated by Her Majesty's Government, led to the concluding of the former Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States, still exist,—and in even a greater degree than previous to the date of that Treaty,—and as the interests of Canada continue to be seriously affected, Her Majesty's Government will not refuse to give the same weight to these considerations as before; and that in any future negotiations between Canada and the United States, in reference to their trade relations, the Dominion will receive the co-operation and influence of Her Majesty's Government.

It will be the endeavour of Canada to see that they involve no substantial violation of the Treaty engagements of Great Britain, nor any practical departure from those sound economical principles, upon which the undersigned has already expressed his opinion they should be based.

JOHN ROSE,
Minister of Finance.

Ottawa, 3rd September, 1868.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Norse Discovery of America. By ANDREW FOSSUM, Ph.D. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House. 1918. Pp. 160.

HALF a century ago students of Homer might have been divided into two conflicting schools. The one, led by Max Müller, espoused a mythological interpretation, and allowed only a slight substratum of historic fact which we in these later days could never hope to uncover. The second, of whom Gladstone was a typical example, laid emphasis on the historic basis of the poems, and sought by careful analyses of the texts and by a study of Mediterranean geography to separate fact from legend and to restore a true picture of the Homeric world. A similar controversy divides students of the old Norse sagas at the present day. Dr. Fossum, the latest writer to take up arms against Nansen and his folk-lore school, gives us a new theory of the old Norse voyages and a new identification for the three lands, Helluland, Markland and Vinland, which the Northmen are said to have discovered. His theory is based on a series of hypotheses:

1. That one saga arose in Greenland, the other in Iceland, for the glorification of rival families.

2. That both, despite their discrepancies, give essentially correct accounts of the old voyages of discovery.

3. That whatever changes were made in the narratives by scribes, the sailing directions remained absolutely unaltered, and are reliable guides for fixing the locations of the new lands.

4. That the starting points for the various voyages can be fixed with reasonable accuracy, if the texts are properly interpreted.

5. That the descriptions of the new countries are detailed enough to help in determining their locality.

Dr. Fossum has produced very few new facts to support any one of these hypotheses. He depends almost entirely on *à priori* theories of probability. To take the question of the sailing directions, it seems just as probable that a scribe should have altered them wherever they

did not correspond with his own geographical ideas as that he should have copied them mechanically or from a consciousness of their intrinsic value.

The interpretations of various textual passages, and the theory of the origin of the sagas and of their value from an historic standpoint, must be left for the scholars of Icelandic literature to deal with. One or two minor theories that are put forward may be summarily dismissed. The old stone houses in Labrador can hardly have a Norse origin, for they are found in Hudson Bay, in Victoria Land, all over the Parry Archipelago, and in Smith Sound, where the Eskimos still use them for dwellings. Again no serious ethnologist believes that the Algonkins or any other Indian tribe imbibed any religious doctrines from the early Norsemen. With regard to the game of lacrosse, the best authorities, *e.g.* Culin, consider that it was undoubtedly an aboriginal invention.

The letter-press of the book is good, and the photographs clear and instructive. It is unfortunate that Dr. Fossum did not italicize his quotations of the saga texts, and use parentheses or inverted commas for the translations. The intermingling of texts, translations and narrative without any distinction at all is very confusing. Altogether the frequent repetitions in the discussion and the want of logical arrangement in the argument give an impression of unclear thinking, and of an author labouring under the obsession of his own theories.

D. JENNESS

Mélanges Historiques: Études éparses et inédites de BENJAMIN SULTE. Compilées, anotées, et publiées par GERARD MALCHELOSSE. Vols. ii and iii. Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1919. Pp. 148; 156.

IN these two attractive volumes M. Malchelosse continues his useful task of publishing various more-or-less-forgotten papers, chiefly of an historical nature, which have come from the piquant and industrious pen of M. Benjamin Sulte during the past half century. The majority of these papers have been exhumed from out-of-the-way places; a few have not hitherto appeared in print at all. Taken as a whole they afford new testimony to the diligence and versatility of their author. They range over a host of subjects, from the Great Lakes to Versailles, and from the history of the potato to the commercial relations of Canada with the Antilles.

The value of these *Mélanges* does not arise either from the importance of the topics with which they deal or from any originality of treatment. Mr. Sulte, except when writing about his beloved Trois-Rivières, rarely

handles any subject in an orderly way. He merely browses, digressing whenever he feels inclined, and losing no opportunity for a fling at any old historical notion that jars his imaginative temperament. Yet he is never commonplace, and the reader who can derive neither profit nor pleasure from M. Sulte's disquisitions has no business to call himself a lover of history.

The twenty papers in these two volumes are of unequal length and value. Some, like *Les Rochelais et le Canada* and *Les Canadiens aux Illinois au XVIIIe siècle* deal with interesting matters of early settlement and expansion. The chapter on *Le siège du Long-Saut* contains only a portion of what M. Sulte has written on this hectic episode; the rest might well have been added in the interest of completeness. An essay on *Un intendant de la Nouvelle-France* (Champigny) gives various details concerning this hard-working official to whom the colony owed more than its historians have ever realized. Champigny, by the way, was not replaced by Beauharnois on the first of April, 1702, as indicated in the footnote on p. 84. Beauharnois could not have taken over the duties of the intendancy until the autumn of that year as his commission was not registered at Quebec until October 5, 1702 (*Edits et Ordonnances*, iii, 57).

M. Sulte's essay of twenty pages on the *Histoire de la pomme de terre* is perhaps the most characteristic thing in these two volumes. Potatoes were grown in French Canada during the early part of the eighteenth century but the habitants did not care for them. They never ate the humble *patates*, wrote a chronicler of the time, if they could get anything better. But they learned to do differently as time went on.

It is in this lighter vein that M. Sulte appears at his best. His chaff is delicious even if his wheat does not always grade very far above the marketable standard. May his days be long in the land!

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

Le Sieur de Vincennes, Fondateur de l'Indiana, et Sa Famille. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Quebec: Charrier & Dugal. 1919. Pp. xv, 365.

La Seigneurie du Cap Saint-Claude ou Vincennes. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Lévis. 1919. Pp. 46.

WITH the editorial text reduced to a few connecting paragraphs, the first-named book is a series of documents reprinted for the most part from the provincial archives of Quebec. They bear upon a specific point in the earliest history of the State of Indiana, namely, the identity

of the military officer who was the first commandant at "The Fort", or Vincennes, on the Wabash. It is rather amazing, in view of the conclusions of M. Roy's now authoritative work, to consider the surmises and unsubstantiated pronouncements that have done service for the history of Vincennes in the absence of accurate historical data. But since the subject passed two years ago into the hands of such an expert in French-Canadian genealogy as M. Roy, it has been placed upon a sound basis. The collection of documents which he publishes is a striking example of the dependence of the early history of the American Middle West upon the resources of the Canadian archives.

M. Roy's search for the founder of Indiana has taken him through a wide field of material in the Archives. His conclusion is that the Sieur de Vincennes in the history of Indiana was a grandson of one Francois Bissot de la Rivière, the first seigneur of Vincennes in Canada. François Bissot came to Canada in 1639; he was accorded the seigniory of Vincennes in 1672 by Talon (p. 204); he died in Quebec in 1673 (p. 281, *Acte de Sepulture*: F. Bissot). The career of one of the sons, Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, is sketched in fifty pages (pp. 32-82), his connection with the Miamis introducing the family of Vincennes into the Ohio Valley. The date of his death is here definitely established as 1719. It is a son of Jean-Baptiste Bissot, namely—François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes—that M. Roy finds to be the commandant on the Wabash.

The *Acte de Naissance* of François-Marie Bissot (p. 300) shows him to have been born in Montreal in 1700. The name Margane which he sometimes employed was that of his godfather, François-Margane, Sieur de Batilly (p. 90). This disposes of the suggestion that his name was a misspelling of something like Morgan St. Vincent, supposedly of Irish origin. The dates of his commissions in the army, attached to the service of the government of Louisiana, M. Roy derives from the Alphabet Lafillard. The identity of François-Marie Bissot is clearly established by a statement in a letter by M. de Vaudreuil dated 1722, to this effect:—

> Le Sr de Vincennes fils qui n'est que cadet dans les troupes commande chez cette nation sous les ordres du Sr Du Boisson; il y est depuis 1718 et il y sert fort utilement pour le grand crédit qu'il s'est acquis parmi ces Sauvages qui conservent pour lui la même attache qu'ils avaient pour le Sr de Vincennes, son père (p. 92).

From 1722 to his tragic death in 1736 the narrative of his career is traced through the official correspondence of the French régime, through the Jesuit Relations, and the documents appearing in J. P. Dunn's *The Mission to the Ouabache.*

As far as M. Roy's researches pertain to the special problem he

sought to elucidate, they are all included within less than one hundred pages. The balance of the book, roughly three-fourths, gives the genealogical records of the family of the Bissots de Vincennes through the descendants of the twelve children of the original François Bissot de la Rivière. In addition, a long chapter entitled, "La Seigneurie du Cap Saint-Claude ou Vincennes", part of which is reprinted and bound separately as a pamphlet under the second title above, gives the customary documents to be found in connection with the legal history of any typical seigniory. Neither the genealogy nor the seigniorial records have any special interest except as they relate to the family from which M. Roy has derived the Vincennes connected with the fort on the Wabash.

C. E. FRYER

Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-1758. By J. S. MCLENNAN. With illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co. 1918. Pp. xi, 454. Maps.

LOUISBOURG, in the middle of the eighteenth century, was the strongest fortress in French or in British America. But it was rather an expression of the weakness of France than of her strength. Already her vast empire in the new world was waning. Placentia, the base of her fisheries, had been evacuated and the fertile lands of Acadia, so long the storm centre, had been ceded to the English. A crisis had been reached in the scheme of French colonial development. France still held the adjacent islands in the gulf and the most important of these was Cape Breton, at the gateway of the Saint Lawrence. A naval base was essential to safeguard her possessions and for the protection of her commerce. Here, then, was built the fortress which, during the brief period of its existence, held a unique position.

The book before us may be regarded as the first attempt, in the light of present-day scholarship, to give adequate historical treatment to the story of Louisbourg. In the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* for 1891, Sir John Bourinot published an elaborate paper on "Cape Breton and its Memorials of the French Régime"; but much water has flowed under the bridges of history since 1891, and sources can now be used which were not thought of thirty years since. In 1915 one of the volumes of the *Chronicles of Canada* series was devoted to the story of "The Great Fortress" from the pen of Lieut-Colonel William Wood. It is an interesting sketch, but distinctly a work of popularization.

Senator McLennan's book will, therefore, be welcomed by students of Canadian history; and, in spite of shortcomings, it deserves a warm welcome for its intrinsic merits. It is the work of an "amateur", using the term in the best sense. Mr. McLennan is a citizen of Cape Breton, and has all the advantages of an intimate first-hand knowledge of the topographical features of the island. He has also—it is manifest on every page—an enthusiasm which has carried him through years of tireless accumulation of material. This material is laid before the student lavishly, yet with economy of space. In Bourinot's memoir there is a considerable amount of literary pabulum; almost every sentence in the present work is substantial historical food. The author deems it necessary to allude in the preface to his practice of telling much of the story in the words of eye-witnesses. He succeeds in doing this without making the text too largely a patch-work of quotations, and succeeds very well in keeping the reader constantly at close grip with the best sources. Best of all are the many important documents published in the appendices, and the magnificent series of maps and illustrations.

But there are also some of the weaknesses which attach to the work of the amateur in history. In the first place, the language is lacking in the force and lucidity which the subject deserves. The sentences frequently drag. Sometimes it is necessary to glance back a second or a third time over a passage in order to grasp the meaning it was designed to convey. The following extracts will serve to illustrate this feebleness in handling the written word which, in less exaggerated form, impairs much of the text:

> Thus, owing to the trivial distances they [the officers at Louisbourg] travelled, to that extraordinary genius of the French for dealing with the aborigines, they had neither the training in adventurous journeys nor in the diplomacy which the transforming into permanent allies of new tribes gave to the officer serving in Canada (p. 48).

> It [the intemperance evil] impressed Verville so much that he says, in explaining the ineffectiveness of the work going on, that the troops who should be at work escape daily to roam the woods and to get drunk, far in excess of these European nations who were given to drink (p. 57).

Minor infelicities, such as split infinitives, are met with occasionally.

Secondly, the material is not well organized. The order followed is in the main chronological, with occasional digressions on topics of a broader bearing. But statement is made to follow statement, quotation to follow quotation, with an equality of emphasis which hampers the reader in any attempt to give to each its appropriate position in an organized whole. The result is that he closes the book without having received a clear-cut impression. This effect is accentuated by the author's avowed policy of leaving out "events or incidents, often pic-

turesque, which are dealt with fully in the works of Parkman, Wood, and others", a policy which can hardly be approved of in the case of a treatise so comprehensive in other respects as this is found to be.

Thirdly,—and a further factor contributing to the same result,—the book lacks the mechanical aids which the reader has a right to demand. No publication having any claim to scholarship should be issued without a carefully prepared analytical table of contents and a full index. It is incomprehensible how such a work as this could be laid before the public without a table of contents of any kind, without even chapter headings. Had a list been given of the documents to be found in the various appendices scattered through the volume its serviceableness would have been appreciably increased. The index, as an index of proper names, is fairly complete and accurate though there are slips, but as a topical index it is quite inadequate. Compare the few meagre references under the headings "Commerce" and "Trade" with the extensive and valuable information which the book really contains on these subjects.

Finally, the *apparatus criticus* is inadequate. Such a thorough study as this should have been accompanied by an exhaustive and critical bibliography. Mr. McLennan cannot justify his shirking of duty in this respect by facile references to the works of Winsor and Larned, and to his own footnotes, where the bibliographical information vouchsafed is of the slightest. The fact that the book was in print in 1914 accounts for the failure to mention the new edition of Knox's *Journal*, published by the Champlain Society, but it is curious that no allusion is made to that work, which preserves a valuable series of general orders of the besieging army in 1758. The manuscript sources are dismissed with the names of the chief depositories and a few titles of series, presented in misleading form. The uninitiated reader would be led to believe that all the documents in Paris belonged to the general series "Correspondence Générale, C. 11", and that in London the Colonial Office Records were to be found elsewhere than in the Public Record Office. The Public Archives, Ottawa, is merely mentioned as one of the depositories of documents in Canada, although elsewhere we learn that it contains copies of the Census of Isle Royale, and that its collection of maps is to be consulted. Surely, in view of the fact that the primary appeal of the book will be to Canadians, they should be given some inkling of the fact that almost all the official and many of the private documents bearing on the history of Louisbourg can be consulted in transcripts at Ottawa.

It is evident that a praiseworthy attempt has been made to fortify the text with references in footnotes to the sources. Yet the reader will

frequently find statements of fact as to the authority for which he will be left in ignorance. There does not seem to be a just conception of the importance of clearness, uniformity, and precision in such references. Who would at once perceive that by "Que. Hist. Mass." (*sic:* p. 148) and "MSS. Que." (p. 149) was designated the *Documents relatifs à la Nouvelle France* published at Quebec in 1883-1885? Why too should the *Correspondence Générale* series be sometimes designated A.N. (Archives Nationales), sometimes I.R. (Isle Royale—title of the subseries of chief interest for the present subject), sometimes Arch. Col. C. 11, sometimes C. 11, sometimes C^{11}, and once (p. 15), doubtless by a printer's error, C ? Nor can we approve of the practice announced in the preface, that "as the documents in the Archives Nationales are arranged in chronological order in their respective series, it has not been found necessary to cite all references to documents so easily found"; nor of that continually followed here, of referring only to the volume number, without giving the folio. It is also disappointing to find that no descriptive notes accompany the valuable illustrations and maps.

But these criticisms of technique must not be allowed to obscure the real merit of the book. It is a sane, trustworthy and very thorough presentation of the history of France's chief maritime settlement in America. Mr. McLennan does not, like so many Canadian and American writers, forget the European background. The fortunes of Louisbourg are presented to us in their proper setting as those of the out-post of a great nation the main current of whose life ran several thousand miles away. A valiant effort is made to rescue the economic elements of the story from the oblivion into which they are being continually pressed by the dominating military interests.

Two subjects of interest are discussed by the author at considerable length, and in a way which will commend itself to all who appreciate favourably sober judgment and calm impartiality in the treatment of historical problems, however much his conclusions may differ from those popularly accepted as part of the legendary epic of the Conquest of Canada. He does not believe that Louisbourg was the costly and disastrous experiment in colonial imperialism that many have believed; on the contrary, he finds that, by the benefits it conferred on French trade and especially on French fisheries, it was an investment fairly justified on economic grounds. And by a careful analysis of naval conditions in France he illuminates the causes of French failure in the Maritime War and seriously punctures any theories of the inherent racial superiority of the mariners of England.

A. G. DOUGHTY

Travels in the American Colonies. Edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America by NEWTON D. MERENESS. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. 694.

THE collection of narratives issued under the above title includes hitherto unpublished journals and reports of political missions or of unofficial expeditions in various parts of North America during the eighteenth century. Phineas Stevens was sent in 1752 by Governor Phips of Massachusetts to Montreal and Quebec to negotiate for the release of prisoners taken in raids during earlier years and still held by the French authorities or by their Indian allies. This was Stevens's second expedition of the kind. The former was in 1749 and his journal kept on that occasion is printed in volume V of the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society. The later journal contains nothing remarkable; it gives business-like details of the transactions, including the amounts paid for ransoms, and ends with a brief description of Montreal. Another journal is that of Lord Adam Gordon who travelled rather extensively in the West Indies and North America during 1764 and 1765. He reached Canada by way of the Onondaga river and Oswego. As a military officer he is interested in the defences and gives valuable details of the forts on Lake Ontario and of their garrisons. His observations on the country he passed through on his way down the St. Lawrence to Quebec are judicious without being very original. He was much taken with the French inhabitants and has ideas on the subject of attracting them to their new rulers. The British population that had come in since the Conquest he briefly characterizes as "the scum of the earth" whose factious and licentious behaviour is not calculated to make the French think well of the system of British rule and he expresses his own notions of how the system could be improved.

H. H. LANGTON

The Maseres Letters, 1766-1768. Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendices by W. STEWART WALLACE. (University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics.) Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1919. Pp. 135.

To the modern historian accustomed to using archives the statement is trite that there is more illuminating material for the historian among the unprinted material than the printed. Yet the appearance of innumerable volumes of history based exclusively on the limited but well-known collections of sources and public documents proves that the

lesson is still unlearned even in many of the colleges and universities. This publication has rescued the letters of Francis Maseres from the obscurity of the Hardwicke correspondence in the British Museum, where are stored riches still almost untouched by historians of Great Britain and her colonies. The correspondence of the Hardwicke family, extending through the most important years of the eighteenth century, is particularly valuable to historians of America. Lord Hardwicke and his sons were conspicuous leaders of the Old Whig faction during its ascendancy and decline, and their own observations and those of their correspondents throw floods of light on colonial events so frequently obscured in the documents emanating from administrative officers. In making public the letters of Francis Maseres, one of the important officials of the *Vita Nuova* of British Canada, Mr. Wallace has performed a valuable service.

Maseres was attorney-general of the province of Quebec from 1766 to 1769 and "as such played no small part in the events and deliberations which culminated in the Quebec Act". His letters are addressed for the most part to "Fowler Walker, the London agent of the British merchants in Quebec. Though possibly not complete, for there seem to be gaps in the correspondence, they constitute a series of private letters almost unique, so far as the early days of British rule in Canada are concerned."

Maseres owed his appointment to the Rockingham ministry, who signalized an otherwise rather negative administration with the appointment of some carefully selected men for the government of Canada. The attorney-general, capable and energetic, did not live up to expectations, however, since his Huguenot ancestry had implanted in him a prejudice against Catholics that he never overcame.

One of his duties was to assist in drawing up reports on conditions existing in the colonies. The mistakes of the Proclamation of 1763 were to be corrected. Concerning these activities of Maseres there is in these letters considerable information of a rather intimate nature. The most important report with which he had to do was concerned with "the defects of the system of Judicature" that had been inaugurated. Maseres was requested by Governor Carleton to draw up a preliminary report which he completed in February, 1769. This was rejected. The letters here printed unfortunately throw little light on the obscure question of this rejection and the drafting of another report by the governor.

The letters contain interesting references to the authorship of the famous proclamation of 1763. In a letter of November 19, 1767, Maseres asserts that Governor Henry Ellis was its author (p. 62),

and again on August 11, 1768, he writes: "Mr. William Grant of London . . . assures me that he saw the king's proclamation in Governor Ellises handwriting before it was published" (p. 99). The reviewer has somewhere run across a similar statement, but has hitherto never been able to find corroborative testimony. Ellis was a great friend of Lord Halifax, and he may have influenced the final draft of the proclamation that was due to the latter.

Many other phases of the British administration in Canada during these early years are illuminated by the letters, and the editor is to be commended on making them available and for his careful editorial work.

C. W. ALVORD

The North West Company. By GORDON CHARLES DAVIDSON, Ph.D. (University of California Publications in History, vol vii.) Berkeley: University of California Press. 1919. Pp. xi, 349.

IN his preface to this thesis, Dr. Davidson, after reminding us that a complete history of the North West Company has been lacking, modestly disclaims such a description for his own work. He hopes that "while by no means a complete history", it may "prove to be of some utility as a study of the origin, activities and end of this famous partnership of fur-traders". One may perhaps agree, without appearing ungracious, that this is not quite such a well-rounded and complete history of the North West Company as we may hope to have some day from Dr. Davidson's or some other pen. At the same time, it is unquestionably, within its limits, an excellent piece of work, scholarly, painstaking, accurate and at the same time readable.

The author has evidently given a great deal of time to searching for documentary material bearing upon the history and methods of the Company, and the personality and achievements of its members, and—what is more to the point—he has used these documents with restraint and good judgment. Much of this material is now printed for the first time, and some of it at least is probably unfamiliar to most students of the fur-trade. It is all more or less vital to a proper understanding of the subject, particularly as to the conditions under which the fur trade was carried on, and the relations of the North West Company at different periods to its competitors, the Hudson's Bay Company, the X Y Company, and the several American trading corporations. Some of the more important of these documents are printed in full in an Appendix, which will, with the exhaustive footnotes to the text itself, prove very useful to students.

If one were to offer any criticism of the work as a whole, it would be as to the desirability of devoting so much space, in a comparatively short study, to the explorations of Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, David Thompson and other members of the Company, who were always rather pathfinders than fur-traders. These explorations had been already fairly well covered in other works, and what was really needed to-day was the fullest practicable treatment of the fur trade *per se*. Such chapters as those dealing with the Early Fur Trade and the Formation of the North West Company, the Last Days of the North West Company, and the Trade and Trading Methods of the North West Company, are altogether admirable, and one could wish that some of the space given to exploration might have been devoted to even fuller treatment of these important and hitherto comparatively untouched topics.

The ruinous competition and corruption which marked the earliest period of the fur trade after the conquest of Canada, and which led up to the formation of the North West Company, as similar conditions at a later period led to the union of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, are very clearly summarized by Dr. Davidson:

> At the beginning of the English trade, it was conducted entirely by the unsupported efforts of individuals. The trader who passed one winter with a newly discovered nation or band of Indians, or in some spot favourable to his traffic, heard of Indians still more remote, among whom provisions might be obtained and trade pursued, with little danger of competition. He, therefore, moved to their neighbourhood and while he was suffered to remain alone, generally preserved good order and obtained furs at a reasonable rate. But, as every person had an equal right to sell goods at the same place, the first discoverer of an eligible situation soon saw himself followed by other traders who were ready to undersell him. Thus circumstanced he, in his turn, resorted to every means for securing to himself the preference of the Indians and for injuring his competitors. Such conduct provoked retaliation. The Indians were bribed with liquor, and the goods were bartered away for a consideration below their value. The consequence was that the traders ruined one another, the Indians were corrupted, and the English character was brought into contempt. In the struggle, innumerable disorders took place and blood was often spilt, till at length, after a competition ruinous to all parties, mutual interests suggested the necessity of establishing a common concern, subject to general rules.

The outrageous profits of the fur trade, and the extent to which the trader imposed upon the innocent and unsuspecting native, has always been a favourite topic among uninformed or disingenuous writers. That the Indian very soon learned to appreciate the true value of his furs, and learned also to play off one trader against another, we have ample evidence in the narratives of western explorers and fur-traders. As to the profits of the business, Dr. Davidson is equally illuminating:—

The goods were ordered from England in October and shipped from London the following spring. They arrived in Canada during the summer. In the course of the succeeding winter they were made up into articles which were required by the Indians, and were then packed into parcels weighing ninety pounds each. These would leave Montreal in May and be exchanged for furs the next winter. The following September the furs would reach Montreal, whence they were shipped chiefly to London. Here they were sold in March and April, and were paid for in May or June. This was three and a half years after the goods were ordered in Canada, three years after they were shipped from London, and two years after they were forwarded from Montreal. Thus the merchant, allowing a year's credit, did not receive a return to pay for these goods and for the expenses connected with them, which were about equal to the value of the goods themselves, until two years after they were considered as cash. This made the trade a heavy business to finance. Some of the goods were a year longer in realizing payment because of the great distance to which they were carried.

As a matter of fact we know from the journals of fur traders that, in the case of such a remote district as the Yukon, the "returns" reached the market only after seven years. The course of trade worked out as follows: *Goods:* first year, reach York Factory; second year, Norway House, near the northern end of Lake Winnipeg; third year, Peel River, near the mouth of the Mackenzie, and over the mountains to Lapierre's House; fourth year, reach Fort Yukon. *Returns:* fifth year, reach Lapierre's House and over to Peel River; sixth year, reach Fort Simpson; seventh year, reach market. Under unfavourable conditions, the returns would probably only reach York Factory the seventh year, and the London market the eighth year.

One notes a few slight errors in Dr. Davidson's text, typographical and otherwise. For instance, it is scarcely accurate to say that "the British fur trade in Canada was recognized and regulated by the charter granted in 1670 by Charles II to Prince Rupert" (p. 3). "Pascoya" was on the lower not the upper Saskatchewan (p. 32). In the last footnote on page 33 "journey" should read "journal". The suggestion in the footnote on page 66 that Mackenzie did not take possession of the newly explored lands for the Crown in 1789 because he was "a civilian with no official status", hardly harmonizes with the fact, noted on page 100, that Thompson, equally a civilian with no official status, "laid formal claim to the country for Great Britain". The statement (p. 96) that Thompson's journals are missing from the autumn of 1801 to the autumn of 1802 is not confirmed by a reference to Tyrrell's edition of the Journals. The assertion that the evidence as to acts of violence in the fur trade "indicates that the North West Company's people were the aggressors" may be well founded, but is scarcely conclusive as here stated, Dr. Davidson basing it solely on the not very impartial testimony of Selkirk (p. 121).

There is also an occasional tendency to overload the footnotes with irrelevant matter; and one sometimes finds the same statement made in practically identical terms on different pages, as, for instance, in the foot-notes on pages 23 and 49; in the reference to Mackenzie's knighthood on pages 67 and 75; in regard to the proposals for a new association on pages 175 and 188; and as to a French vessel on Lake Superior on pages 3, 31, and 213. But these are only very slight blemishes in an exceptionally fine piece of historical work; and in most cases the author is definitely absolved from responsibility by the editor, who records the fact—particularly interesting to Canadian readers—that the author, who had obtained a commission as lieutenant in the First Canadian Mounted Rifles, was at the front when his book was going through the press, and was therefore unable to give it his personal attention.

It only remains to mention that, in addition to the important series of Appendices, the work contains a useful bibliography—in which, however, one notes the absence of one or two really important titles, such as Tyrrell's edition of Thompson's Journals and Martin's *Selkirk's Work in Canada*; and both a General Index and an Index of Geographical Names. Those who have wasted many hours searching for elusive facts in unindexed historical works, cannot too warmly commend such exceptionally good indexes as these.

L. J. BURPEE

Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario. By ALEXANDER FRASER, Toronto: The King's Printer. 1918. Pp. vi, 478.

THIS volume which contains the records of the early Courts of Justice of Upper Canada has for various reasons special interest. In the first place, as furnishing in detail the proceedings of the earliest courts in western Canada, now Ontario, the records reveal the nature and practical operation of the legal institutions of the country at that time. Secondly, they furnish, in the parties to the suits, the witnesses called and the lists of jurymen summoned, the names of most of the prominent early settlers of the respective districts. They thus serve to identify the location, occupation, movements, and, to a considerable extent, the period of life of the pioneers of the country. Lastly, the cases tried in the courts and the outcome of them afford a considerable amount of quite authentic information on the social and economic conditions of the country. Many apparently trivial facts which emerge in the course of the presentation of the cases may serve as quite important data for

settling or clarifying certain issues in connection with other historical material of first rank.

The introduction to the report and its continuation in the first appendix, with several summaries and commentaries relating to certain cases in the record of the court of Luneburg, are contributed by Mr. Justice Riddell, whose contributions to various aspects of Canadian history are well known. Apart from these, the body of the volume consists simply of a transcript of the records of the courts from their earliest sittings after 1788 to 1794 when they were reconstructed. There is also an index. The records furnished are those of the Courts of Common Pleas for the districts of Hesse, Mecklenburg, and Luneburg, also of the Court of Oyer and Terminer for Hesse. The records for the district of Nassau, centering at Newark, or Niagara, have not yet been recovered.

In the introduction Mr. Justice Riddell has furnished a very serviceable survey of the early law systems and courts of Canada from the period of the establishment of civil government in 1763 to 1794. In the case of the English courts they are traced back to their origins in Britain and through the modifications which they underwent in Canada after their first establishment, and until their suspension in consequence of the suppression of the British civil law under the Quebec Act, also in their partial restoration in the western districts after the coming of the loyalists, and quite generally in Upper Canada on its creation as a separate province in 1791. Reference is made (p. 14) to the apparent intention of the British government to send out an ordinance for the establishment of suitable courts on the coming into force of the Quebec Act in 1775, but "this seems not to have been done". As a matter of fact it was done, but the outbreak of the revolutionary war and the invasion of Canada prevented the ordinance from being put into operation. Afterwards the very considerably modified ordinances of 1777 were substituted for it. The original ordinance will be found in the second edition of the *Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791*, issued by the Dominion Board of Historical Publications, now coming from the press.

As regards the contents of the volume under review, it is regrettable that a work which should serve for authentic historical reference and reliable quotation should be marred by so many defects, as the result apparently of very imperfect proof-reading and faulty transcription. Space will not permit a reference to more than a few samples of these defects. In the brief table of contents the district of Luneburg appears as "Lunenburg". The date 1839 is given as 1849 (p. 3). The Treaty of Paris of 1763 is cited instead of that of 1783 (p. 4). The Treaty of

Utrecht is substituted for that of Paris of 1763 (p. 5). The ordinance of 17th September, 1764, is given as 7th September (p. 6), etc., etc.

It is difficult, of course, to be quite accurate as to names in manuscript documents; and without the opportunity of comparing the transcript with the original one cannot be quite sure that a mistake has been made, even where one is familiar with the names of the persons referred to. But where the clerk of a court who knows his men is entering the names of prominent citizens, he is not likely to enter them in different forms in the same record, much less in the same case. Moreover, there are certain combinations of letters in every language which are practically impossible and should at the very least give pause to a competent editor in the supervision of transcription. Throughout the volume, however, we find the same name given in quite different forms, some of them obviously impossible. In some cases as many as three or four variations occur, and many of these are mechanically transferred to the index; although there is a cheerful disregard of consistency in this respect also. Taking some of the Mecklenburg district names, we find that our friend Gottlieb Christian Baron de Reiffenstein never appears as himself, but once under the somewhat plausible form of Reitenstein, though more frequently under the impossible combination of Reitrenstein. His first Christian name also appears as Gotlip. As a result he enjoys three entries in the index, all strictly incog. Conrad Vandusen, who frequently attended the court as plaintiff, defendant, or juryman usually does so under the name of Conrood Vanduser. Wrarkman is an obviously impossible attempt to present either Workman, or, more probably, Wartman. George Harpel appears from time to time as Harpie, or, more reasonably, as Harper. John Shibly is practically lost to fame as Chibley. In the well-known firm of Macaulay and Markland, the former occasionally appears as McCauley and sometimes as MacAuley, which is of course excusable. Although the name is also frequently correctly given, the compiler of the index, with strange inconsistency, gives only MacAuley, while other persons, as we have seen, appear under all their variations. Wm. Muir is transcribed occasionally as Mieur and is indexed under both names. Peter Lawson disappears occasionally as Losson. And so on indefinitely.

Even Homer nods, however, for the Justice himself occasionally makes a slip. Referring to the code of practice introduced by the ordinance of 1770, we find the unexpected comment "so that he may run that readeth it" (p. 14). In the notes to the introduction (p. 22), in note 2 referring to the Quebec Act of 1774, we are informed that "the historic quarrel between Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox took place during the debate in the House of Commons on this bill".

It was, of course, in the debate on the bill which became the Constitutional Act of 1791 that this incident took place. Apart from such minor defects, however, the introduction, as already indicated, is quite interesting and valuable.

ADAM SHORTT

British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government, 1839-1854. By J. L. MORISON. Toronto: S. B. Gundy. 1919. Pp. xi, 369.

As an original contribution to Canadian history this work is much more interesting than its title might indicate. It is not simply one more of the futile attempts to grapple with a problem which is no nearer solution to-day than when it was first propounded, simply because the very statement of it precludes a real solution. The achievement of responsible government in Canada, which is the question most discussed in the volume, is still in progress, and most important contributions thereto have quite recently been made by Sir Robert Borden and his government. This question, however, is not specially concerned with the solution of the theoretic problem of British supremacy and Canadian autonomy, but with the establishment of a working co-operation between two peoples, some of whom, on the colonial side, are of British ancestry and therefore with British sentiments and affinities, while others are not, but recognize, nevertheless, the necessity for a mutual co-operation. It is true that Professor Morison sets himself the task of dealing with what he very properly designates "a political antinomy", namely, "the contradiction between imperial ascendancy and colonial autonomy", and the problem, one may add, is no less an antinomy when, as occasionally presented, it is a contradiction between colonial ascendancy or dictation and imperial autonomy. So far as our author insists on dealing with this antinomy, he makes but little progress and, like the many others who have sought to square this circle, eventually emerges through the door by which he entered. When Sydenham's critics confronted him with unanswerable arguments to prove that it was impossible for a Canadian governor to accept opposite instructions at once from the government at home and from the legislature of a colony, he smilingly admitted the completeness of their demonstration but simply replied, with characteristic blandness and self-assurance, that outside the region of speculative politics there was no such problem. And, when they still insisted that theoretically at least it might be encountered, he simply answered that when it was encountered he would face it but not until then. In the meantime he intimated that they would devote themselves to the solution of real problems which were numerous enough to satisfy the most enterprising. His confidence in

the ability of British and colonial statesmen to solve practical, as distinguished from theoretical, problems was thoroughly justified and the antinomy referred to has never taken a practical form. *Solvitur ambulando* was the attitude adopted by the first governor who undertook to instruct Canadians in the practical operation of responsible government, and this has been adopted by his successors down through Macdonald and Laurier to Borden, whose important additions to the practical solution of responsible government have quite demoralized the fine cobwebs of those still poring over the old antinomy. Professor Morison, however, in spite of the title of his book, has far too much interest in the flesh and blood problems of humanity to confine himself to the discussion of paradoxes, even though the paradoxes themselves are stated with a freshness, quaintness, and ingenuity which almost gives them the semblance of reality, as in the case of the stories of skilfully humanized animals, so entertaining for children.

By far the most important contribution of the volume is the series of vitally human studies of the four Canadian governors-general from 1839 to 1854—Sydenham, Bagot, Metcalfe, and Elgin—in their different contributions to the development of responsible government in practice. Here we find a frankness and vigour of treatment which are entirely refreshing. Apart from the personal equipment of the author in scholarly training, fair-mindedness, absence of racial prejudice, and attractive literary style, his work has the great advantage of a first-hand study of documents, hitherto unavailable, or but slightly employed by writers on Canadian history. Aside from the general run of secondary materials, there are three sets of documents which are available for the special study of the governors of the period, and of which the writer has made full use. There are the ordinary formal official documents, including the official despatches of the governors-general with the colonial secretary. These are liable to public presentation and scrutiny and are framed accordingly. There is next the secret and confidential official correspondence, which is not to be given to the public until at least the problems being dealt with are solved, and the political personages whose characteristics and operations are described, have permanently passed from the political stage, and preferably also from the cares of this life. Then there is the private correspondence with ministers and others in which a still more intimate treatment of the interests and problems of political life and the social and personal atmosphere in which the parties lived and operated is presented, and where, much more than in the other two series, the personal characteristics of the correspondents are revealed. In varying degrees and quantity these three series are available in the case of each of the four governors dealt with. The

fullest material is found in the case of Elgin and the least complete in the case of Metcalfe. From these intimate and first-hand sources Professor Morison has largely drawn for his studies of the governors. Thus, though the activities in which they are chiefly presented are official and political, their personal characteristics are constantly utilized to throw light on their political and constitutional actions.

Elgin's personality proved the most attractive for the author and he is obviously the hero of the book. This accounts for a certain more or less unconscious tendency to exaggerate his share, important as it undoubtedly was, in the evolution of responsible government. This is offset, however, though at some expense in consistency of treatment, by the generous recognition of the special contributions of the others in the chapters on Sydenham, Bagot, and Metcalfe. If any criticism may lie against the treatment of the personal contributions made by the different governors, it is perhaps chiefly to be observed in the case of Metcalfe. His personal integrity receives ample justice, but his constitutional contribution is rather minimized. Whatever his theoretic views on the importance of British supremacy, he fully recognized that in practice Sydenham had introduced the principle of responsible government. In this Bagot, with the assistance and advice of Sydenham's Civil Secretary, Murdoch, and his financial administrator, Hincks, had followed him. Bagot's special contribution was to admit the French to a share in the government, once it had been demonstrated to them that they could not, as heretofore, frustrate the union, but now might share in its administration. Metcalfe himself, by becoming leader of the opposition and carrying the country at a general election, also ruled as Prime Minister with the support of a popular majority and thus afforded responsible government in spite of himself. Meanwhile, the defeated ministers of the Sydenham-Bagot party were learning of necessity what it was to carry on an organized opposition with no leadership but their own, and with men of the capacity of Hincks, Baldwin, and Lafontaine the instruction was not lost. Thus, when the political pendulum once more swung to the liberal side, Elgin, who had inherited without prejudice the Metcalfe ministry, saw that it was rapidly losing popular support and was sure to be defeated, but that a ministry quite able to take care of itself would succeed. He was able, therefore, to be the first Canadian governor to stand aloof from the leadership of either party and thus leave responsible government by majority, in domestic affairs at least, to be carried on by Canadian leaders, in this case under Baldwin and Lafontaine. The circumstances of the Canadian political evolution had determined what Elgin's special contribution to the ultimate result should be, and he, like his three pre-

decessors, had the insight and courage and, in his particular case, the spirit of self-sacrifice necessary to deal with the situation. In this process the peculiar services of Metcalfe were no less vital and necessary to the finished product than those of any of the others, Elgin included.

The chapter, "British Opinion and Canadian Autonomy," contains an interesting summary of views and anticipations by British politicians as to the future of imperial and colonial relations. We find that they were just about as accurate as similar anticipations of the development of domestic political problems in Britain itself, or of the relations of the Empire to foreign countries, including the United States. The closing chapter, "The Consequences of Canadian Autonomy," is much the least satisfactory. The materials are inadequate and their arrangement exhibits haste and lack of organization, with unnecessary repetitions of former statements. As indicated, however, the volume contains much that is new, interesting and valuable for a special period of Canadian history. As a whole, it is undoubtedly more important as a prophecy of mature and finished work to come than as a final expression of the author's views on the more fundamental problems dealt with.

ADAM SHORTT

Leaders of the Canadian Church. Edited by Canon BERTAL HEENEY, with a Preface by the Primate. Toronto: The Musson Book Co. 1918. Pp. vii, 319.

WE have found this book more interesting than we expected. It was not an easy task to secure ten writers to write these short biographies of ten Bishops of the Church of England, and it is not an easy task to review them. On the whole, the work is well done, and the Church has every reason to be grateful to the editor for the idea and to the writers for very considerable labour. Each sketch is furnished with an excellent portrait of the bishop whose life story is briefly told. In a subsequent edition we hope the sketches will be prefaced with a brief analysis of the contents. There is no index. The bishop's see and the date of his occupancy has to be hunted up in the text of each chapter.

In the first five sketches, there is a large historical interest. The times were stirring. The bishops were pioneers. The conquest of French Canada, the American Revolution, the apathy of civil officials, the scattered character of the church population, the need of clergy, churches, schools, colleges and endowments all enter into the story. The tasks before the bishops were certainly formidable. On the whole they did their work well, sometimes with signal ability. Canon Vroom

writes of Charles Inglis, the courageous loyalist, and first Bishop of Nova Scotia (1787-1816); Canon Kittson, of Jacob Mountain, the first Bishop of Quebec (1793-1825); the Rev. R. C. Johnstone, of John Strachan, a justly famous educationist, and first Bishop of Toronto (1839-1867); Archdeacon Raymond tells the story, and tells it well, of John Medley, the first Bishop of New Brunswick (1845-1892); and the Rev. E. J. Peck, himself a well-known missionary, writes of John Horden's labours in the north land as Bishop of Moosonee (1872-1893).

In the later sketches the interest becomes more largely personal, as indeed was inevitable, four of the five studies dealing with famous preachers. Canon Tucker writes an eloquent eulogy of William Bennett Bond, a gifted organizer, the Bishop of Montreal, and afterwards Primate of Canada. Dr. Renison writes well of Edward Sullivan, the Bishop of Algoma, to whose profound presentation of Christianity Sir William Osler paid a remarkable tribute. Canon Dyson Hague has a subject after his own heart in writing of Maurice Scollard Baldwin, Bishop of Huron, and does ample justice to the bishop's simple but noble piety. Archdeacon Davidson has hardly done justice to Bishop Dumoulin of Niagara. The Bishop's reserve perhaps made the task difficult. But the sketch remains meagre and disappointing. Dr. Howard, of Montreal, closes the volume with an account of James Carmichael, Bishop of Montreal. Many living to-day in the Canadian church have been thrilled and inspired by the wonderful eloquence of these last four bishops. The Canadian church owes a great deal to Ireland as well as England. Ireland perhaps is plagued at home with too much eloquence. But when this article is exported it commands a very high premium. It is perhaps unfortunate that at a time of fast moving thought, these eloquent preachers all bequeathed to the Canadian church a heritage of conservative thinking which has made reasonable modernism a very difficult plant to grow in Canadian soil. No doubt conservatism is a help to the preacher, but his spiritual children pay the price. On the whole, when we bear in mind the enormous routine work of bishops of the church, and the difficulty of making bricks without straw, the men whose life-story is unfolded in these pages form a very remarkable group. The Canadian church can look back with admiration upon the patience, labour, faithfulness, and, in several cases, conspicuous ability of these devoted pioneers and leaders.

E. C. Cayley

Robert Randall and the Le Breton Flats: An Account of the Early Legal and Political Controversies Respecting of a Large Portion of the Present

City of Ottawa. By HAMNETT P. HILL. Ottawa: James Hope and Sons. 1919. Pp. 62.

IT was inevitable that the story of the Le Breton Flats should be told at some time; and Mr. Hill has given a very interesting account of many of the facts connected with Robert Randall's wrongs in reference to this property—for wrongs Randall undoubtedly experienced, legal and regular as were the proceedings. Robert Randall was, like another early agitator, Gourlay, forced into politics, though by a wholly different method. He does not seem to have had anything in view but legitimate business, but by a series of outrages for which members of the official and governing class—the Family Compact—were responsible, he was thrown into the arms of the radicals. No one can read the Appendix to the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada for 1853 without feeling indignation at the way Randall was treated, although (as was the case with Gourlay) some of his misfortunes were brought on by his own lack of prudence, not to say ill-temper.

To make a short story, Randall being the owner of valuable land where Ottawa now stands, lost it for a trifling debt to Boulton; and partly by misfortune, but partly also by neglect, found himself prevented from obtaining any redress by the existing rules of law and practice. William Lyon Mackenzie was, and to the last continued to be, his staunch friend, but he was not able to obtain for Randall legislative relief. The whole story, with the original documents, is told in the Appendix already mentioned.

For a popular essay, it may be thought, authorities need not be cited, but it is to be hoped that some one, Mr. Hill or some other as well qualified, will give us the story with citations. Then, too, should be told the dealings with the government, concerning which many documents slumber in the archives at Ottawa.

It is to be regretted that some errors have crept in. Randall was not the grantee of the water power of the Chaudière (p. 1); of course he could have utilized the water power in a measure, but not to any great advantage, without the islands, which he tried to get but failed. The government was not at York in 1793 (p. 8); D'Arcy Boulton was not "the son of an English barrister who emmigrated [*sic*] to Canada in 1787" (p. 11); unless, indeed, it is meant that he was the son of an English barrister and emigrated to Canada. There was no "Solicitor, Mr. Jonathan Rudsdel" (p. 12); while the Law Society Act of 1797 contemplated that there might be solicitors to act in His Majesty's

Courts of Equity, no Court of Equity was in fact erected until 1837. There was no "Mr. John Beardsley, the senior member of the Upper Canada bar" (p. 20); although Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley might not unfairly claim such a title. Can it be that Mr. Hill means Bartholomew Crannell, the first City Clerk of St. John, often called "Father Crannell" as the first called to the bar of New Brunswick? One of his daughters married the Reverend John Beardsley—whence Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley. The rule that a writ of *fieri facias* against lands should not be acted upon until after the expiration of a year was statutory, not simply a rule of court (p. 24):—the statute of 1803 (43 George III, c. 1, U.C. assented to by the King after having been reserved) was the first provincial Act.

There are misprints which must be as annoying to the author as to the reader. "Emmigrated", "chattles", "emnity", etc., are of course mere slips which the printer should have corrected; but we have Sir James Buchanan Macauley's name given as " MacCauley " and "McCauley" indifferently, McGillivray drops one i, Procter is "Proctor", Levius Peters Sherwood becomes "Livius" (Livius was not *persona grata* with that class of United Empire Loyalists), Millard Fillmore, President of the United States, is "Fellmore" (perhaps not an inappropriate name, but not the right one), and Christopher Alexander Hagerman—"that great mastiff, Hagerman," as Mrs. Jameson calls him—is always "Hagarman," which is distinctly worse than the former spelling "Haggerman."

Mr. Hill is to be thanked for his interesting narrative, which we accept as an instalment only.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

Georges-Etienne Cartier. Par BENJAMIN SULTE. Augmenté et publié par GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE. (*Mélanges Historiques*, vol. iv.) Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1919. Pp. 103.

M. SULTE's slight sketch of Sir George Cartier has considerable importance, since it is an account by one of the few survivors who knew Cartier intimately. Cartier died in 1873, nearly fifty years ago, and most of his generation have followed him to the grave. M. Sulte is so much of a veteran as to have been present in 1864, fifty-five years ago, at the Quebec Conference when the present constitution of Canada was framed; and since that time he has been engaged almost continuously in the task of governing Canada as an official of the Department of Militia and in researches into the history of the country. No one knows better

than he the fruits of Cartier's labours in the political system of Canada. M. Sulte divided his study into two parts, the first an estimate in numbered paragraphs of what Cartier achieved, the second a reprint, with new additions, of a sketch of Cartier and chiefly of his personal characteristics, written shortly after his death. To M. Sulte Cartier is always a hero. We learn nothing of his limitations, the hardness of the man of affairs whose gospel was work for himself and for every one else and the personal touchiness which made him sulk when Sir John Macdonald was knighted and he himself was given only a C.B. and which was soothed only when he received the honour of a baronetcy with rank superior to Macdonald. These are, it may be, spots on the sun. M. Sulte pictures a superman, and treasures sacredly even fragments of furniture which Cartier used.

The place of Cartier in the history of Canada is none the less important. Relentless time, which reduces so many supposedly great men to oblivion, is increasing steadily our sense of the importance of Cartier's work. He was the leader on the French side of the remarkable combination of ultramontanes in Quebec and of Orangemen in Ontario which kept the Conservative party so long dominant. Cartier was in reality too liberal for the ultramontanes. He had been an armed rebel in 1837, and in the end they abandoned him; but he had their support in bringing about the federation of Canada, and for this phase of his work no praise can be too high. Cartier was, as we have indicated, rather a hard man of affairs. He never rested. He was worn out and died before he reached the age of sixty. His activities as summarized by M. Sulte are astounding. He reorganized the judicial districts in Quebec so as to make the courts readily accessible. He moderated the criminal law so as to reduce capital offences. He had a share in abolishing the burdensome seigniorial tenure which tended to keep Quebec feudal. He codified the civil law of Quebec, basing his code not merely, as is often supposed, on the Code Napoléon, but introducing so many features from English law that critics could say that Quebec had the best of both systems. He framed the existing municipal code of Quebec, and he did much to promote mutual tolerance in education by Protestants and Catholics. Side by side with these higher interests he had a keen eye for material development, and especially for the promotion of railways. His zeal for the Grand Trunk Railway was not wholly disinterested, since he was counsel for the railway. But he had a hand in the promotion of the Intercolonial Railway and his last most active days were concerned with the building of the Pacific Railway across the continent. He had a share in causing what we know as the Pacific

Scandal, but he died before that unsavoury episode brought disaster to his political friends.

Cartier's chief monument remains, however, the part he played in creating the Canadian Federation. To-day, for reasons not based solidly on valid causes, Quebec and Ontario regard each other with suspicion and some measure of hostility; and we rather wonder that, half a century ago, a French Canadian leader could have had so easy a task in leading Quebec into a political union which offered to the French Canadians no hope that they could ever be more than a minority. The key to Cartier's success was his steady insistence that the local governments of the two provinces should control the things that chiefly mattered in daily life—municipal law, education, religion. The union of a quarter of a century with Upper Canada in a single legislature had led to acrid differences on all these topics. Cartier saw, and led the leaders of the Church to see, that control of these things would be safer with Quebec as a separate province than it was in the existing troubled union with the English-speaking province. In spite of much angry debate it is certainly true that Quebec has never regretted that decision. It made possible the continuance of laws and customs which would have changed, but for the bulwark of a provincial boundary against Ontario. Thus, in the results of Cartier's work, we see the paradox that a wider union has fortified and protected a local nationalism.

M. Sulte, in spite of his liberal outlook, writes as a son of New France rather than of federated Canada. He admires Cartier's rather second-rate verse, the work of a busy lawyer chiefly self-educated. He praises the alertness and the explosive merriment of his friend. One touch he notes which is quite charming—his love of reading. Sir John Macdonald was fond of French romances and one day among a number of papers taken from his pockets there lay a novel by Le Sage. He seemed shame-faced until Cartier picked up on his own table another novel by the same author. One wonders whether French-speaking and English-speaking leaders in Parliament to-day share common distractions of so alluring a kind.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

Laurier: Sa vie: ses oeuvres. By L. O. DAVID. Beauceville: L'Eclaireur Limitée. 1919. Pp. 268.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier. By PETER MCARTHUR. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 184.

SENATOR DAVID was perhaps Sir Wilfrid Laurier's closest friend and most intimate adviser. "J'ai beaucoup écrit, depuis cinquante ans", writes M. David, "sur l'illustre défunt dont la mort a fait au cœur de la patrie

une plaie qui saigne encore." From the first notable speech of Laurier in the Quebec Legislature in 1871, his friend saw the promise of a great career and the present eulogy, therefore, is warranted by a sincere devotion which is life-long. The book is rather a biography in outline than an elaborate and thorough analysis. The outstanding events in the statesman's long period of public service are reviewed, and none of the episodes which evoked party criticism are omitted. But it is not possible in three hundred pages of large print to deal fully, or even adequately, with a career so full and covering so important an epoch as the years during which Sir Wilfrid Laurier, either in Opposition or as head of the Government, exerted a potent influence upon the policy of Canada. M. David, whose candour as a historian no one can deny, does not shrink from dealing with those questions of race and creed, which, combined with others, finally divided the Liberal party and overthrew the Government. "Le facteur le plus puissant des élections de 1911," contends the author, "fut le fanatisme religieux, national et impérialiste." This was not confined to one province. "C'est en l'accusant d'être trop anglais, trop impérialiste et pas assez catholique qu'on le démolit dans la province de Québec." The part taken by M. Bourassa and his powerful following in the struggle is fearlessly set forth. M. David's political comments are most interesting throughout and his narrative of the concluding years of his leader is touched by the emotion which is at once appropriate and sincere. He records the last words of the dying man, on hearing that a priest had been sent for: "C'est bien, mais je ne suis pas aussi malade que vous pensez, seulement je me sens faible." This tribute to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, marked equally by intimate knowledge and personal affection, will not be passed over when posterity forms a final judgment upon the qualities of the distinguished statesman. The illustration includes the house where Laurier was born and several family portraits. The book is neatly, though not sumptuously, printed and bound.

In a readable, unconventional appreciation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Mr. McArthur has gathered together anecdotes, quotations from the dead statesman's speeches, and estimates of his life and work by other writers. The selection has been well made. The charm of the old Chief is illustrated at every turn and his exquisite courtesy, springing as it did from a kind and genial nature, was equal to every emergency, either social or political. The author modestly disclaims having attempted a great book. If, however, it does no more than to impress upon Canadians the value of good manners in a public career and the proof that they are always the product of a cultivated understanding and a finished taste, the book was worth doing. Sir Wilfrid Laurier

added much to the dignity of parliamentary life, and the rapid sketches by means of which Mr. McArthur draws the portrait will probably be more widely read than a weightier biography.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

Reminiscences, Political and Personal. By SIR JOHN WILLISON. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1919. Pp. 358.

THERE is in Sir John Willison's *Reminiscences* a wealth of suggestion, whether the subject be the country life of Ontario fifty years ago, the struggles of a young writer for the press, the influence of newspapers, or the careers of public men whose names are famous in Canada. The personal note is always subordinate to the matter under discussion. The effect is to deepen the favourable impression produced by the author when he deals with men and events of importance. His judgment, sincerity, and accuracy raise no doubts in the mind of the reader that we have in this work a valuable contribution to the political and social history of the country. It is not possible to do justice here to the literary quality of the book, to its attractive style, or to the humour and insight so freely displayed in its pages. This task must reluctantly be left to the purely literary reviewer. It is from the standpoint of political history that we should examine a work which lifts the curtain upon Canadian public policy of the past forty years as it has not been lifted before, and reveals to us with convincing candour the motives and characters of statesmen about whom the mists of party criticism still cling.

In truth this form of political narrative has not hitherto yielded much of value to the serious student. The recollections of Sir Francis Hincks, produced in extreme old age, are dull, and, if they embody useful material, it is chiefly of secondary importance. The Canadian portion of Goldwin Smith's autobiography is tame compared to the vivid outpourings which he contributed in magazine or newspaper with amazing energy, and for so long a period, to every kind of controversy. The *Reminiscences* of Sir Richard Cartwright must always have a place in Canadian historical writings, but the marked acerbity of tone which pervades them undoubtedly detracts from the weight of the evidence. The reflections of Sir John Willison are temperate. The testimony which supports them carries conviction, and where it is not direct and personal wears the air of strong probability.

The estimate of Alexander MacKenzie and his Government shows that the author is able to recall the earlier years of his own political activities in a dispassionate spirit. MacKenzie gave honest and econo-

mical administration, but no straight issue between free trade and protection was involved in the struggle which restored Sir John Macdonald to office and ushered in the National Policy. The electors had to decide between a low tariff and a high one, and as the years went on the tariff question became so closely related to the industrial and financial fabric of the country that the application of the free trade theory was never possible. No responsible leader proposed it. To Macdonald the author is generous yet discriminating, praising without stint his ability and personal charm, but concealing none of his weaknesses. A fairer estimate of this statesman is not to be found in any other quarter. The same may be said of the character-sketches of Mowat, Blake, Tupper, Ross, Whitney, and others. These figures pass before us drawn to the life.

The recent political history of any country is often dull unless the narrative is cast in a form so biassed as to be practically valueless. Sir John Willison has been behind the scenes. Careful not to reveal secrets which must be left to later generations to discover, he presents much that is novel and entertaining. The extent to which a public man is moulded by his environment and in what degree he controls events is made clear. The study of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is especially interesting in this respect. The war has made us familiar with the peculiar authority wielded by the press in public affairs and no part of the book is more fascinating than the revelations of what is constantly taking place in politics if the press is influential. Where the newspapers correctly interpret popular opinion they become irresistible, and under universal suffrage the situation tends to a reduction of personal power and adds a new perplexity to the duties of statesmen. The author incidentally sets forth the reasons for the belief that Canada is a hard country to govern, since to race, geography, and economical factors must now be added the power of the press and the never-ceasing intrusion of sectarian education into the federal sphere. The framers of the Federation Act were probably quite unaware that in the composition of the Senate and the control of education they settled nothing finally. These are some of the Canadian problems upon which Sir John Willison brings to bear his experience, judgment, and excellent humour, thus helping in no slight measure to redeem Canadian history from the provinciality and harshness that have too long been it bane.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

Canada's Sons and Great Britain in the World War: A Complete and Authentic History of the Commanding Part Played by Canada and the British Empire in the World's Greatest War. By COLONEL GEORGE G. NASMITH, C.M.G., with an introduction by GENERAL SIR ARTHUR W. CURRIE, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1919. Pp. xx, 606.

Canada at War: A Record of Heroism and Achievement, 1914-1918. By J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Containing also *A Story of Five Cities.* By the REV. ROBERT JOHN RENISON, D.D., Chaplain, 4th Canadian Infantry Brigade. Toronto: The Canadian Annual Review. 1919. Pp. viii, 448.

"The Times" Documentary History of the War: Vol. VI. Overseas Part I: *Canada.* London: Printing House Square. 1918. Pp. xi, 520.

Canada in the Great World War: An Authentic Account of the Military History of Canada from the Earliest Days to the Close of the War of the Nations. By various authorities. Toronto: United Publishers of Canada. Vol. II: *Days of Preparation.* 1918. Pp. viii, 374. Vol. III: *Guarding the Channel Ports.* 1919. Pp. vi, 403.

THE titles, and more especially the sub-titles, of the books here grouped for review demonstrate clearly that the literature of the war has entered a new, and for this generation the penultimate, phase of its development. More than a year ago publishers began to find that the market for the record of personal experiences had been overworked, with the lamentable result that many a soldier's account of the later open fighting and the final advance, which must have provided much of the most dramatic incident of the war, will perhaps never be passed on. The demand of to-day is for a summing up, a record of the completed achievement, a history of the war.

The writer who sets out to meet this requirement labours under obvious difficulties. He is well aware that war-correspondents and official despatches do not tell the whole truth, and that individual soldiers do not know it. Yet the complete official records are not opened to him, and will not indeed be available until the need for this type of book has begun to pass. It may safely be assumed that all these compilations were in the press before the bulk of the Canadian records had crossed the Atlantic. It will still be long before this great collection is adequately housed at Ottawa, longer still before it is in condition for rapid examination. Work has hardly been begun upon the first stage of official record, the battalion and regimental histories based on battalion war diaries and orders. Even the official documents are none too accessible to the Canadian compiler, for they were poorly

and sometimes inaccurately reproduced in the press. "*The Times*" *Documentary History* is very thorough as far as it goes, but the end of the only Canadian volume so far published in book form (number six of the series) just gets the First Contingent to sea in the second month of the war.

The volumes before us do not overlap, for they are written for obviously different purposes and publics. Colonel Nasmith's book must not be judged by its title and sub-title. It is not an eighteenth century libel, but a vigorous and not unsuccessful effort to comprise within two covers a popular summary of the gigantic spread of war activities, Canadian and British. Written "during the many months of what would otherwise have been a long and tedious convalescence", it has the merits and the faults of Colonel Nasmith's earlier, and less ambitious, *On the Fringe of the Great Fight*. The author makes no more effort now than then to suppress his own personality and vigorous opinions, and wastes no more time on revision of proof. (He might, for example, have accepted his G.O.C.'s spelling of Mount Sorrel, and not have given two variants of it himself on one page.) He provides no index, and his chapter headings can hardly be taken to supply the deficiency when we find the fall of Baghdad described in a chapter headed "Canadian Corps captures Vimy Ridge". But, for the very large public that wants an account of the war to read as a continuous story and not for reference, Colonel Nasmith has marshalled an extensive array of fact to illustrate his theme of the might of the Empire; and General Currie's restrained and earnest tribute to the Canadian soldier adds distinction to a book which, especially by its inclusion of chapters on the Conference and the Treaty of Peace, has a real educational value for the class that normally absorbs very little from its newspapers.

Mr. Castell Hopkins, on the other hand, sets forth his data, as befits the editor of *The Canadian Annual Review*, in a form much better suited to the needs of the reference table. He is little concerned with the military history of the war; merely seventy pages are devoted to the Canadians at the front, and not a few of these are taken up with quotations from Lord Beaverbrook, Mr. Buchan, and others whose books are probably at most of his readers' elbows. Canadian war politics, economics, and philanthropic effort occupy much space, and the two latter subjects are illustrated with imposing statistics. Mr. Hopkins founds this continuous narrative on facts "gathered by him with infinite labour and pains," as Sir Robert Borden says in an appreciative foreword. Minor errors in such accumulation of fact there must doubtless be. The final command of the P.P.C.L.I., for example, is stated to have resided in "Major C. J. T. Stewart, 27-3-18 to End of

War"; whereas Major Stewart was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, fell during the advance in Bourlon Wood, and was succeeded, after a short interregnum, by Lt.-Col. Hamilton Gault, the founder of the regiment. Other errors of detail that might strike the notice of readers with special knowledge of limited phases of the subject would not detract from the very considerable value that this book will have as a work of ready and general reference.

Canada in the Great World War is an enterprise of far wider ambitions. It bids fair to be the authoritative general history of the Canadian part in the war until such time as an official publication sees the light of day. Of the many evidences that its editorship is wisely placed, none is clearer than the deliberation with which the volumes are being given to the public. The second, which went to press during the final offensive, just reaches the fringe of the battle-field with an excellent account of the blooding of the Princess Patricia's in February, 1915; the third, published late last year, brings the story down, so far as the C.E.F. is concerned, only to the battle of Sanctuary Wood and the successful counter-attack of June, 1916.

The editor may perhaps be fairly criticized for his choice of volume titles: the student will certainly be wise to ignore them, and turn straight to the table of contents. Volume II is entitled *The Years of Preparation*, meaning, according to an editorial foreword, "the first three years of Canada's participation in the Great World War. . . . In no way, save in the readiness of the people to make every sacrifice, was Canada prepared for war." This is an adequate and a very reasonable explanation for the collection into an early volume of a most valuable series of articles on the machinery that created the Canadian army; financial and industrial conditions and developments; the problems of the alien enemy, conscription, and the censorship; the mobilization of the railways and philanthropy. There was another excellent reason of course for throwing the war at home forward in the plan of the work: the materials were available far earlier than those required for the history of Canada in France and Flanders. On the other hand, the editorial definition does not fit the quarter of the book that deals with the very vital matter of the early history of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Canada, in England, and in France, which, for all General Hughes's faults (bluntly castigated by more than one contributor) did not take three years to prepare. It would have been a better plan to leave the beginnings of the C.E.F. to the third volume. Again it is very doubtful whether the "guarding" of "the Channel ports" can be cribbed within the operations of 1915. With the choice of contributors to the second volume, however, and with the arrangement of their

chapters, there is little fault to be found; and for the avoidance of overlapping the editor is entitled to all gratitude and praise. Two chapters in particular, both of a rather general nature, one by Mr. John Lewis and the other by Mr. J. E. Middleton, strike a really high level. Mr. Hanbury-Williams's contributions on the creation of "Ottawa" and the censorship are models of compression; and indeed the whole volume, compiled from materials that are accessible and readily checked, and handled by men who obviously realized that they were called upon to make "dull" subjects attractive, will hardly be bettered.

The third volume is not so satisfying; but the test is far more severe, for it must stand or fall largely by the impression made by Col. Hunter's description of the second battle of Ypres, which is already an oft-told story. For that reason, his opportunity was a great one. He has failed fully to realize it, and in two ways. First of all, he succeeds only very little better than his many predecessors in enabling the reader to envisage the action as a whole. Let it be granted that this is, in the case of second Ypres, an extraordinarily difficult task. None the less, it has to be attempted if ever the lay reader is to make the wood out for the trees. Col. Hunter has not attempted it, and counts this unto himself for righteousness: "This then," he concludes, "is less the Chapter of the General than the Book of the Battalion." Every soldier, whether he was there or not, appreciates this, the battalion officer's, point of view. But it is not history, and it does not break new ground. We have had the book of the battalion at Ypres in many editions already. But the far harder task of putting the reader beside the general has hardly been tackled. Must we now wait for official histories, which will not be written till the memory of the coming of the gas is very, very distant, to tell us the story as a whole? Within the limits that he has set himself, Col. Hunter has done his work with discretion and lucidity. One may take exception to occasional points, as for example a statement that "it was not until 1917 that we learnt to keep back a percentage of all ranks"—a practice that was surely in force in some brigades at least as early as the offensive of 1916. But generally speaking the story has lost nothing in the retelling, and the diagrams, though none too plentiful, are, for once in a way, really based on the author's story and are consequently of genuine value. There is, however, a second fault far less venial than that of the method of treatment, which is, of course, an arguable point in a non-official history. This is a fault of style which comes perilously near to being a breach of taste. Col. Hunter impresses the reader with being concerned above all things to make his narrative "readable". The result is that he has condescended to make it cheap by a number of entirely unnecessary semi-flippant

interpolations. There is cheap satire, as in the footnote which refers, wholly irrelevantly, to "that astute British document the Army Act, s. 177, which apparently never heard of such a thing as a Dominion"; cheap invective of this sort: "Not until that April day did the world learn that a Kaiser of the Germans had robbed Caesar of the Borgias of his toxic laurels"—a periphrasis better suited to the journalist of the baseball diamond than to the historian of Canada's days of glory; cheap litotes that speak of a very gallant Toronto officer "acquiring that persistent casualty habit that led him to add another gold stripe to his sleeve whenever he entered an action." Small enough taken singly, these lapses, recurring on almost every page, do most seriously mar the contribution as a whole, and indeed the effect of the whole volume. Col. Hunter is an excellent describer of battles, and it is to be hoped that his name will reappear in later volumes of this work. But his effect will be so much the greater if he will learn from such of his fellow contributors as Mr. Lewis or Mr. Marquis that the way to be readable is to be simple, and that tricking the stage of glorious death and high endeavour is almost unpardonable. His account of the battle of Festubert is very much freer from these blemishes, and is far superior to his principal contribution to the volume.

The chapters on the holding of the Salient in the spring of 1916 and the battles of June have been entrusted to Mr. Roland H. Hill. They are unimpeachable, but not very distinguished. The account of the battle of June 2 has been curtailed to a mere six pages, an altogether insufficient allowance for an action which, if miniature by the standards of this war, was in its way quite epic. Such condensation was bound to result in important omissions; there is, for instance, apparently no reference to the very effective enfilade support given by the Royal Canadians on the left flank to the rest of the besieged line. A still more serious omission, and one to which no contributor should have consented, is the absence of any kind of trench sketch to illustrate either this action or the operations that followed. The most striking feature of the volume is a long appendix of nearly fifty pages by Mr. Duncan Campbell Scott on the Canadian Indian in the War. Two shorter appendices on Food and Fuel Control throughout the war appear to have been left over from the second volume. In all probability their author, Mr. R. E. Gosnell, felt it impossible to complete them until the war was definitely brought to a conclusion. This is only an illustration of the difficulties that the editor of a work as ambitious as this has had, and will have, to face; and the critic who takes into account the problems inseparable from the writing of a complete history of the war within a year or two of its close must grant a full measure of praise

to the enterprise and look forward very confidently to the appearance of later volumes, in the preparation of which many stumbling-blocks as yet unmoved will have ceased to trouble the editor or his contributors.

R. HODDER WILLIAMS

Canada's Hundred Days: With the Canadian Corps from Amiens to Mons, Aug. 8-Nov. 11, 1918. By J. F. B. LIVESAY. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1919. Pp. 421.

PERHAPS Canadians may have been accused at times of unduly boasting about their part in the last stages of the war. Boasting is not a good occupation for a nation, especially a victorious one. But who is there, really knowing the facts, who will deny that they have a right to be at least joyfully proud of their part? Why, too, should they not set it down in straightforward honest English so that those who would learn may know why they should be proud and why they might perhaps have a good cause for some slight conceit?

Mr. Livesay, in this excellent account, has told us in a straightforward honest way all the essential story of those Last Hundred Days wherein the Canadian soldiers played their part in the tragic drama. He who reads the account, not only as a story of war but as a record of history, will be assured that the Canadians' part truly was a great share in the drama, truly was the part of one of the most effective fighting machines amongst the components of the British Army, and truly was a decisive factor in the operations which brought the war to a close on the eleventh of November.

The phrase "Last Hundred Days" has now come to mean only one thing. One wonders what the Germans have called, or will call, this period. Was it a hundred days to them too, or was it more? More likely it was a hundred nights! sleepless, filled with fighting, retiring, hurrying, despairing, shuddering. What the days were to the British and the Canadians, what the days brought and what they offered for rewards, were victory upon victory to the end.

Mr. Livesay takes us from those spring days, when in the silence from about Arras and Vimy we all wondered, "Whatever can the Canadians be doing?" through the crash of the successive battles of Amiens, Arras, and Cambrai, with the breaking of the Drocourt-Quéant Switch, through the Hindenburg line, on to the historic towns of Valenciennes and Mons. With the advantage of his close relationship to the Corps Headquarters and his access to information as a war correspondent, Mr. Livesay has been able to present much of the true inward-

ness of operations and opinions which are of great historic value as having been mostly written on the spot and at the time.

Pages descriptive of preparation are followed by pages of the battle itself in such detail as to be of real value to the historian; and then come incidents of the fighting which would appeal to the constituency of a war correspondent's cabled story. Following these come masterful presentations of the general situation from time to time with the atmosphere which surrounds the deliberations and the study and decisions of the higher commands. Not the least useful in the understanding of this remarkable campaign are the very good maps which show, not only the area of the fighting, but the fronts and advances of the respective divisions of the Canadian Corps as they fought and progressed from day to day.

Many passages, for their admirable description, are sure to be quoted in years to come. If space permitted, a choice might be presented; but with the dramatic closing days at Mons one cannot help drawing contrasts with the first weeks of the war wherein this became hallowed ground. It was an honour to the Canadians to permit them to retake Mons, but it was more than that; it was a necessity to ensure it:

> The days that follow are a tumult of sensation and emotion. Reports come from Paris and London and our Canadian cities of joyous transports and feverish demonstration. Superficially these are signally lacking within the ranks of the Canadian Corps. . . . . This may be puzzling but looking below the surface there are good reasons why the Canadian Corps received its crowning victory as soberly as it has its successes of the past. . . . . First is the fact that it fought its way to the Armistice. Canadian soldiers died in their duty within a few hours of the cessation of hostilities. On the previous day they encountered opposition stiffer than any since the fall of Valenciennes . . . . But it was essential to secure so important a strategic and tactical point as Mons should the Armistice proposal fall through. Even on the Sunday few soldiers in the field believed in it and in the London Clubs they were betting odds against it.

C. H. MITCHELL.

Through the Hindenburg Line: The Crowning Days on the Western Front. By F. A. MCKENZIE. Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton. 1919. Pp. viii, 429.

MR. MCKENZIE has been through the war with the Canadians from the early days. His name is well known from the Atlantic to the Pacific as one of the war correspondents who has contributed much to history by his timely and able writing. Now he has put a bit of it into a book with a blue cover—not that it is a blue book, far from it, for it is full of the bright colour of action and the crimson of war.

He starts just after the Somme in the autumn of 1916, and carries

the epic of the Canadians through Vimy, and Hill 70, and Passchendaele, and the winter of 1917-18, and then on to the tragic Hundred Days up to and through and beyond the Hindenburg Line. It is indeed fitting that this last episode should give the book its name, for after all the struggle throughout the two years of fighting was really to break the Hindenburg Line.

The book does not pretend to be a history, but neither is it a story; it is rather a series of stories and descriptions of how the Canadian soldiers lived and fought, of what they thought and dreamed, of their daily life, of day and night, sunshine and shadow, of château and dug-out, of front line and rest billets, of everything of war except "leave"—that's another story. The triumphs, the failures, the hardships, the joys and sorrows can be judged from the titles of certain of the chapters—"Winter Days at Vimy", "The Road to Ypres", "This Way to Hell". "Dead Man's Corner", "Tea in a Dugout", "Knobkerri", "The Way to Death", "What the Soldier Thinks".

One cannot help drawing attention to the chapter called "Currie". It is a word picture of Sir Arthur Currie such as those who were close to him, staff officer and soldier alike, can well appreciate:

> Here is a man solely devoted to one end—victory. He is impatient of intrigues, of self-seeking, of notoriety-hunting. He is proud of and jealous for his men. . . . He regards his soldiers as human beings; he remembers the homes they have left.

C. H. MITCHELL

Report of the Ministry: Overseas Military Forces of Canada, 1918. London: By authority of the Ministry, Overseas Military Forces of Canada. [1919.] Pp. xv, 533.

THE people of Canada have learned in various ways of the activities of their army at the front in France and in the various campaigns in which Canada's soldiers have participated. Most of this has been through the medium of the press and in various popular publications timely and readable because of the real war story woven into them. They have learned but little of the organization behind Canada's army nor of the many elements which went to make up the support which the country gave to its soldiers. Whilst the war was in progress, and perhaps too because of the press of work, it was not opportune to tell the people much of it in anything except some concise progress report.

Now, however, an elaborate volume is published by the Overseas Ministry of Militia itself, under a preface by the Overseas Minister, Sir Edward Kemp, which will form a most valuable authentic record for the future. The preface states that the report does not presume

to be an exhaustive account of all activities, but rather endeavours to make a general survey of the many matters which came under the Ministry, and in order to make it easier reading much of detail and technicality has been avoided.

The various operations by the Canadian Corps and other Canadian troops are described at length accompanied by useful maps and diagrams. Not the least valuable are the descriptions and diagrams of the organization of the various portions of the large military machine whereby the military administration was carried on in England and France. In addition to this many illustrations are included. The whole report by its comprehensive character will be found most useful to the historian and military student alike.

C. H. MITCHELL

War Story of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. By J. GEORGE ADAMI, M.D., F.R.S. (Temporary Colonel, C.A.M.C.). Volume I: *The First Contingent (to the Autumn of 1915).* Published for the Canadian War Records Office. London: The Rollo House Publishing Co. [1918.] Pp. x, 286.

Politics and the Canadian Army Medical Corps: A History of Intrigue, Containing Many Facts Omitted from the Official Records, Showing How Efforts at Rehabilitation were Baulked. By HERBERT A. BRUCE, M.D., F.R.C.S. (Eng.), Colonel British Army Medical Service and C.A.M.C. With introduction by HECTOR CHARLESWORTH. Toronto: Wm. Briggs. 1919. Pp. 321.

THESE two books are in a sense curiously complementary, and yet antithetical. The *War Story*, published for the Canadian War Records Office, is a sympathetic history of the growth of the Canadian Army Medical Corps before the war and its early war growth and development. The history is carried far enough back to show how well the foundations had been laid, its pliability and adaptibility in the hard test of actual service in the second battle of Ypres, Festubert, Givenchy, and the trench warfare of Ploegsteert. The Corps had necessarily been organized for field service, and in this particular fully vindicated its creation, development, and training. The book is written sympathetically by one who was for several years a member of the Corps, and though not a professional soldier, was in intimate contact with the Corps and its administration from within. Colonel Adami is very successful in giving to both layman and soldier a clear and simple picture of the development of the service, its plan of operation in the field and of the difficulties that were encountered. He shows how the adminis-

trative heads tried to choose from among those who responded to the first call for service the right men for the very various posts to be filled. That they were on the whole so successful in organizing an efficient field service speaks volumes for the capacity and powers of organization of the men who were senior members of the Permanent Canadian Army Medical Corps, and this in spite of the fact that most of the leading members of the medical profession in Canada felt that this poorly paid service was only a backwater in the great, ever developing river of the profession. We see clearly that the Corps had been developed for field service and that it was there successful; and just as clearly we see that the service in England was unforeseen and greatly handicapped in obtaining the men, means and organization necessary to carry on the work which devolved upon it. Its difficulties were also greatly increased by the anomalous position in which it found itself in relation to the British service, which was suffering from much the same faults of organization and policy. Not only in its early stages, but down to the last, round pegs were to be found in square holes. But it must be remembered that this was due as much to the fact that there will always be individuals who choose professions to which they are not suited, as to the weaknesses of such an organization as the C.A.M.C. Was it, for instance, entirely the fault of the service that prominent surgeons preferred to serve and die for their country in Field Ambulances where their peculiar gifts found little scope, or that a great hospital with excellent surgeons found itself in an area of war where fighting became stagnant but sickness abounded?

Colonel Adami is very happy in his descriptive touches of the places which formed the scene of the activities of the Canadians in France and England. How excellent his description of Étaples, Le Touquet, and Ploegsteert is can only be realized by those who saw them during the war.

It is to be regretted that this book, which will form a permanent addition to the public and private libraries of Canada, is poorly printed and bound and contains frequent typographical errors. In an official document such errors as the following should not have occurred: page 64, footnote, "Inglis" for "Ingles", the name of the well-known Chaplain of No. 1 General Hospital; page 101, lines 14 and 26, "east" for "west"; page 174, footnote, "Capt. F. A. Park" should read "Capt. F. S. Park", and, similarly, on page 269, "Capt. W. T. Bentley" should read "Capt. W. J. Bentley".

The book by Colonel Bruce is purely ephemeral, yet it is the better bound and printed of the two. It is unfortunately entirely polemical,

and deals altogether with an unfortunate incident in the history of the administration of the C.A.M.C, in England.

An eminent civilian surgeon suddenly advanced to high rank in the army and charged with an inquiry into a system of medical administration which too clearly revealed the want of co-ordination due on the one hand to the lack of foresight of the Minister of Militia and his Militia Council and of the War Office in Great Britain, and on the other to the tremendous strain on the military authorities of Great Britain, was certain to find much that was unfortunate and inefficient. Yet the book gives little credit to the efforts that had already been made from within the system to rectify the faults that had grown up. The "Bruce Report" produced the effect of an attack on individuals when it was intended doubtless to show the defects of a system. The report and the book unfortunately do not trace the development of the service in Great Britain and consequently the reader obtains no true picture of the difficulties already overcome and the efforts to improve the faults recognized in many cases to exist. The report helped, no doubt, to accelerate improvement and was of great advantage to the service. It may be pointed out that the charges of unfair dealing made by Colonel Bruce are laid against the Acting Minister of Militia and not against the Canadian Army Medical Corps or the Director of Medical Services. Indeed the Director of Medical Services at the time of the Bruce Report concurred in most of the findings of the report and had in some instances already endeavoured to rectify the faults pointed out. The lack of segregation of the Canadian wounded was clearly not his ideal but an expedient to which he had been forced by political considerations extraneous to the Corps.

It was perfectly obvious to all in 1916 that for the sake of efficiency it was high time that an officer who had seen service at the front in France and knew the requirements and standards of the force in the field and had been trained in and thoroughly knew the service in Canada should be recalled to the head of the administration in England. This was found necessary in the case of the combatant forces also. Colonel Bruce, however, adds to the suspicions of those who saw the service in England, that the administrative heads of the army services were not at all times helped, but rather hindered, in their endeavours to obtain greater efficiency, by political influences at Ottawa and those surrounding the Overseas Minister of Militia.

V. E. HENDERSON

Labour in the Changing World. By R. M. MACIVER. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 230.

THE student, and perhaps even more the general reader, is in danger of becoming bewildered by the number of books poured forth from the press on the subject of labour, the aims of labour, the status of labour, the future of labour. Some of these are good, some are bad, and a great number of them are indifferent; Mr. MacIver's contribution to the subject belongs most emphatically to the first category; it is distinctly good.

The industrial revolution, "which massed men and depersonalized industry", destroyed forever the craftsman, and set in his place the factory hand and the machine worker. That this has bettered the economic status of labour is now demonstrable, all the protests of the Marxians to the contrary; that it has limited and also debased its spiritual and even intellectual outlook is becoming increasingly apparent. Labour demands that no longer shall it be a commodity, economic goods for sale in the market, and that its remuneration shall no longer be reckoned as one of the costs of production. Labour demands that it shall stand side by side, on equal terms with capital, and receive its reward from the income derived from the products of industry, not as an advance paid before the productive process is completed. This involves a complete change in the concept of wages; in fact, it postulates the end of the wage system altogether, and the substitution of a system of complete copartnership between capital and labour.

Such is the first part of Mr. MacIver's thesis. It is, of course, no new idea; it is one already quite familiar to students of labour problems; but Mr. MacIver has restated it, as he has every right to do, in clear and striking language. It might be maintained that the moment of emergence of the remuneration of labour in the productive process is, in the last analysis, unimportant, since the measure of the remuneration, not its manner, is the crux of the question. For the mere refinements of economic theory the world has little patience, but this is no mere hair-splitting; the struggle of the future is not really on economic grounds at all; it is to be fought, is being fought now, on spiritual and ethical grounds. This Mr. MacIver points out very strikingly and clearly. The struggles of to-day are not generally for higher wages, but for the recognition of a principle, of Trade Unionism, and its status as copartner in industry with the entrepreneur.

We live in a changing world. "There can be no reconstruction worth the name unless we succeed in widening for all men, and especially the workers, the opportunity for living a reasonable life; unless we can

remove the insistent economic menaces that embitter and degrade the existence of multitudes, and unless we can also develop those wider interests, those cultural and spiritual interests, without which life is a mere scramble for material things." How shall these objects be attained? In the first place, by the establishment of specific minima and maxima to ensure a basic standard of well being, such as maximum hours of work, minimum wage rates, and regulation for the health and education of the people. Secondly, the worker must be made a partner in industry with capital, thus giving him security against unemployment, and against the consequences of unemployment when such is unavoidable, and lastly, security against arbitrary dismissal, unfair treatment and exploitation of any kind.

Such shall be the new charter, but the attainment of its objects must bring with it corresponding obligations. "These assurances cannot be attained, nor in any case would they suffice without a further provision of the first importance, viz., that the organizations of the workers where they exist, must be brought into direct relation to the management, being fully informed of the condition and progress of the industry in the particular workshop and in general, and that the workers, in so far as organized, be admitted to any council which has to do with determining the conditions of their work." And labour in its turn must give assurances that it will not, in pursuit of its own interests, disregard or break its obligations under law to the community at large. The anarchy of Winnipeg and Seattle should never have occurred, must not occur again.

That these are ideals worth striving for most, if not all, will agree. But it is the manner of attainment that provides the stumbling-block. Whitley Councils, Colorado Plan, Plumb Plan, Syndicalism, Guild Socialism, which can it be? Mr. MacIver favours an adaptation of the Whitley Council, seeing in it a reasonable and practicable system of industrial control.

The whole theme is well and carefully worked out. Women's labour, immigration, the birth rate, trade unionism, all are dealt with in a manner adequate with the space at the author's disposal. Mr. MacIver is no alarmist; he is not one of Mr. Wells's "God-sakers". He is anxious for the future, but does not despair. But we do seem to have arrived at a definite crisis at the present moment; both capital and labour are fully alive to the fact; and clear thinking is absolutely necessary if we are to be saved from shipwreck.

Mr. MacIver writes in an easy and pleasant style, sometimes rising to eloquence. He is to be congratulated on a good piece of work.

H. MICHELL

The Employment Service of Canada. By BRYCE M. STEWART. (Bulletin of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston.) July, 1919. Pp. 25.

MR. STEWART, as the official in the Dominion Department of Labour in charge of the working out and application of the new system of employment bureaus for the Dominion, has an important and interesting account to give of the inauguration of the scheme.

Employment bureaus under private management have always been unsatisfactory, and the outbreak of war found the Dominion faced with serious conditions of unemployment, with no machinery to cope with them. The various provinces tried to meet the need by setting up systems of employment agencies of their own, but the limitations of purely provincial and unrelated bureaus became early so apparent, that in 1918 the Employment Offices Co-ordination Act was passed by the Dominion parliament, giving to the Department of Labour in Ottawa the task of co-ordinating the various systems already in existence, of acting as an interprovincial clearing office, standardizing methods and collecting employment statistics. In March, 1919, the system was put in operation, and the results attained have been eminently, indeed surprisingly, satisfactory. During the first nine months of its working, from March to November, 1919, 220,000 placements were made, an average of over 6,000 a week.

Such a system of bureaus, useful as they undoubtedly are, does not solve, or indeed profess to solve, the whole problem of unemployment. Such has been already amply demonstrated by the record of the labour exchanges in England. In the present imperfect state of our industrial and financial organization, and in our seeming utter inability to control or even understand the nature of cyclical fluctuations of business activity and prosperity, or even to cope with the regularly recurring seasonal fluctuations, it is inevitable that unemployment must be a problem which will vex the world at longer or shorter intervals of time. In Canada these fluctuations tend to be even more accentuated than in European countries, owing to the ebb and flow of immigration with its effects on the labour force, and the marked contrasts of the Canadian seasons making seasonal fluctuations more severe in their incidence. Of these drawbacks to the perfect working of any system of labour exchanges Mr. Stewart is, of course, well aware. But while fully alive to the difficulties in the way, he is most optimistic for the scheme now in operation, and sees an important sphere of usefulness for it in the future. In this he is justified by the record of the first few months working, and in the excellence of the system devised.

Mr. Stewart's little monograph is indispensable to the student of the unemployment problem in Canada.

H. MICHELL

Production and Taxation in Canada, from the Farmers' Standpoint. By W. C. GOOD. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. ix, 133.

THIS book is concerned with the "agricultural problem" of Canada, and more particularly of Ontario. It deserves a hearty welcome, as one of the very few books which have scientifically and comprehensively examined the condition of Canada's most important industry. No other book written on this subject contains so pithy and well-reasoned a statement of the economic position and needs of the Canadian farmer. The general impression which it gives is in the first place that Canadian agriculture is in financial straits and in danger of submergence. The chief cause, according to Mr. Good, of the depression of agriculture is economic. Farming does not pay. That is in the last resort why the youth of the country is forsaking it, why rural social institutions are decaying, why production from the farm is halting. "We cannot hope," he says, "to put agriculture on a stable basis until 'it pays'." The first consideration is not better science in agriculture, important as that is, but better business and better returns.

Our economic system discriminates against agriculture, and this is the point which the author seeks to drive home. The argument is directed particularly against the tariff, and secondly against speculation in land. Mr. Good makes a careful, moderate, and discriminating use of the available evidence to prove his case. It is not his fault that the evidence is very incomplete, but one cannot help feeling, in reading his book, the need for a far more adequate system of agricultural statistics. It is not very creditable that Canada cannot yet provide the most necessary data for the study of its greatest industry.

Mr. Good is a pessimist as regards the present and an optimist as regards the future. His remedy is simple. It consists in replacing the Federal tariff by a tax on land values. The tariff "protects" industry at the expense of agriculture, which has to compete in a world market. Land speculation enhances the cost of the land and reduces the farmers' profits. In fact the farmers' balance sheet shows all over not profit but loss, which means that the farmer receives a lower "wage income" than that which prevails in other industries. We cannot here enter into the details of the argument which Mr. Good offers. It is the work of a man who has been trained to think economically and

deserves the consideration of all who care to understand the growing farmers' movement throughout Canada. Mr. Good stresses the economic side, but he is at heart an idealist, and writes under a strong conviction of the national importance of the "revival of agriculture".

R. M. MACIVER

Wake up, Canada! Reflections on Vital National Issues. By C. W. PETERSON. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1919. Pp. xiv, 365.

MR. PETERSON'S book is hardly a book at all; it is rather a half-dozen excellent introductions to an equal number of books. Probably Mr. Peterson would agree with this suggestion. He attempts to cover nationality, single-tax, government-ownership, socialism, agriculture, all between the two lids; and, of course, no sooner has the reader nicely engaged in one subject than he or she is switched on to the next. One should read *Wake Up, Canada!* in instalments, a chapter a night.

The author has had a varied personal experience from which to draw material. I understand he was born in Sweden; was Deputy Minister of Agriculture in the days of Haultain and Territorial government; was secretary of the Calgary Board of Trade and several other Western organizations. For a time he was engaged in the irrigation projects of the Canadian Pacific; and he is now both farmer and journalist. During the war he served in the Department of Fuel Control under Mr. Magrath. As Mr. Peterson confesses to having had a hand in manufacturing management, we may conclude that there are few channels of the country's industrial and political and social life into which he does not possess some insight. Unlike many other writers who essay to consider the vexed problems of economics, Mr. Peterson does not stumble because of environment; he has had so many environments that he may be said to possess none.

Canada is most suited to agriculture, "and yet we have set about to create in this fresh, new country the very conditions from which the European has fled in terror and disgust". That is one of the serious charges which Mr. Peterson makes. We have tried to relieve the stress of industrialism by limiting the hours of labour. As a consequence

> The hod-carrier appears at his job at 8 a.m., and works until 5 p.m., with an hour off at noon. On Saturday he quits at noon and has a rest period until Monday morning. His home, however humble it may be, has the usual modern conveniences. He is able to associate with his fellows and enjoy all the attractions of the city, including the movies. His wages are generally adequate to the extent of enabling him to live and dress decently. His organization sees to that.
>
> The farmhand rises from his slumbers at 5 a.m. and does his chores. He has his breakfast at 6.30. His team goes out to work at 7 a.m.; more chores at noon; steady

work until 6 p.m.: then supper and more chores. When the day ends he has probably worked from 14 to 16 hours. He frequently sleeps in a loft. He has very inadequate facilities for keeping himself clean and in a great many instances he lives in a mess that his city brother would not put up with for a minute. He tumbles to bed, dead tired, when the day's work is done. By comparison, it is the life of a serf. No recreation, no time for self-improvement, whilst his wages are probably much inferior to what the city labourer is able to command (p. 327).

The reader may conclude (if of the town) that the solution is very simple. The farm-hand must be given shorter hours, more comforts and, of course, more pay. That is being said every day. But, unfortunately, the trouble is not to be so easily settled. To quote Mr. Peterson again:

He [the farmer] must compete in the open markets of the world with farmers of other countries and climates—the black, the brown, the yellow, and the white races who have been working at high pressure for centuries and will probably go on doing so for many more generations. Take it one year with another, our farmer makes a fair living and nothing more.

These words contain the pith of Canada's economic problem. Any thesis written of Canada's Labour and Canada's Capitalism that does not lay its foundation upon the farmers' position, is certain to be wrong in its upper storeys. We cannot permanently have one rate of remuneration for country and another for town. The day will come when the labourer of the farm will demand:

First, equal wages with city labour and, secondly, a bonus to compensate him for his isolation and inferior living conditions. And when that time comes, what will the Canadian farmer do? In his present circumstances, he cannot meet those demands and live. He cannot pass the burden on to the consumer.

If the time does not come in which such a demand is made it will be because the "hired man" has completed his trek to the city. Canada will then have ceased to export the products of the farm out of which it must meet its foreign monetary obligations (half a million a day); Canada will be bankrupt. I am sorry Mr. Peterson did not develop this line of thought and tie into it the data furnished by Mr. Leach's dairy-farm surveys of Oxford and Dundas Counties. But, perhaps, they were not available when *Wake Up, Canada!* was in the making.

W. H. MOORE

Bridging the Chasm: A Study of the Ontario-Quebec Question. By PERCIVAL FELLMAN MORLEY. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 182.

MR. MORLEY'S thesis is written around "Instructions 17" as prescribed

by the Ontario Department of Education for the regulation of English-French schools. In his opinion one cannot by any stretch of imagination look upon these instructions as anything but the beginning of the end of the French language in Ontario:

> Coolly, and with all the deliberation and precision of officialdom, the regulation sounds, in fact, the death-knell of the French tongue in our province, and thus the language of the first settlers in this part of the country, and the language of our first schools, is classed with German, Portuguese, and Kurdish, as a "foreign" tongue and one that needs no longer look for a home on Ontario soil. Can one wonder that the regulation came as a bolt from the blue to our French neighbours?

"A Canadian of English-speaking parentage and Protestant upbringing", Mr. Morley thoroughly understands the public mind which imposed "Instructions 17" upon Ontario. Many English-Canadians do not know any French-Canadians. The two nationalities live (generally) in groups apart. The English-Canadian depends mainly upon the press and the politician for information about his compatriot. He has been told that the man of French tongue "is kept in something approaching a cave-man's state of enlightenment". And of course his guardians are the priests who are supposed to "conceal beneath a fair show of outward piety certain base designs of world conquest". English-Canadians have been taught to sense danger in the more rapid French-Canadian birthrate and more rapid settlement of the hinterland of the province.

> It is asserted that the Quebec hierarchy aim by this means to get the upper hand in Ontario. Having at length achieved a French majority in this province, they would straightway deprive us of our schools, our libraries, and our churches, muzzle the press, introduce bilingual schools everywhere with the English language a disappearing quantity, tax Protestants to exhaustion to swell their own coffers, and perhaps reintroduce the rack, the dungeon, and the stake to bring all recalcitrants back safely within the fold.

Apparently Mr. Morley imbibed that idea in his early school days and later on absorbed it with his coffee and the Toronto papers at breakfast. Then he went among French-Canadians, and found them not at all as represented. He found their leaders "genial and kindly" and, knowing them, admired them; while the common run of French-Canadians was apparently not less intelligent than its counterpart of the English tongue.

Naturally, Mr. Morley felt himself charged with a mission. He set about throwing a right light upon the French so that those who knew them not might know and, knowing, rectify their injustice. In Mr.

Morley's opinion it is not a grievous fault for a state to possess two languages especially when those two happen to be English and French; it is an advantage which may be turned to substantial cultural and commercial account. Insisting upon the necessity of all acquiring English, he discusses the ways by which nearly all may acquire a conversational use of French.

Mr. Morley has written a good book. He succeeds admirably in the difficult art of delivering a sermon without preaching. He puts his material continually in interrogative form, and it is none the less effective. Step by step he leads his reader through this troubling controversy; and always so good-humouredly that none but the fractious would refuse to follow until the end. Upon the leave-taking, the reader is asked: "Will not Canada be the richer if the Laurentian Province" (and several of the other eight as well) "can resist, in a measure, the forces of continentalism, and build for itself a culture of its own, French-Canadian and yet, in the truest sense of the word, Canadian? Will not the historian of the future record as good whatever we may do to-day to encourage diversity of thought and ideals in our national life? Surely there is no better gospel than individualism, and none more in harmony with the spirit of the day."

W. H. MOORE

The Government of the British Empire. By EDWARD JENKS. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. n.d. Pp. viii, 403.

The Canadian Constitution and External Relations. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. (*The Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, third series, vol. i, part i, pp. 7-24.)

The British Empire and a League of Peace Together with an Analysis of Federal Government: Its Function and Its Method. By GEORGE BURTON ADAMS. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. iii, 115.

The Future of Canada: Canadianism or Imperialism. By JOHN BOYD. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1919. Pp. 106.

MR. JENKS in his latest book has attempted to provide the general reader and the young student with a handbook of the government of the British Empire. In no sense competing with the larger and more learned treatises, he has written a very valuable introductory work, and the fact that he has done so after a careful study of the sources makes it all the more useful for the class of readers for whom it is intended. For example, no one can read his pages on Ireland or on the Church—

where there was plenty of opportunity for failure—without being convinced of the judicial mind which is developed and cultivated by the method which Mr. Jenks has adopted and conscientiously followed.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading. Out of four hundred odd pages barely sixty are given to the Empire beyond the Seas. That is to say barely a sixth is concerned with the five great sister nations of the Empire and with the other vast territories and peoples. The account, however, which Mr. Jenks has given of the government of the Empire outside the British Isles is an accurate piece of compression, and, as far as it goes, it will give those for whom he has written a good bird's eye view of the situation. There is a vital omission which may create false impressions. Mr. Jenks says little or nothing of the external relations of the five self-governing dominions, and his readers are thus left in almost blissful ignorance of a very important and, from the point of view of political thought, very tantalizing problem. He says nothing of the Imperial War Cabinet and of the political causes out of which it grew, nor does he seem to be acquainted with section nine of the resolutions agreed to by the Imperial War Conference of 1917, in which foreign affairs and foreign relations are placed on a new basis. This matter of foreign affairs is one which has reached a position of distinct development and even a book such as Mr. Jenks has written cannot afford such an important and vital omission, as silence in connection with it means not only error in historical perspective but error in historical insight.

With these limitations, however, we have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Jenks' book is perhaps the best available of its kind. It is accurate, judicial, and scholarly. We might hope, now that Mr. Jenks has carried out such patient work in study and research, that he would give us a full and complete work on the government of the Empire—a work made all the more necessary by the changes due to the war.

Professor Keith's latest contribution to Imperial history is, as usual, sane, balanced, moderate, and full of insight. In bringing, as it were, his *Imperial Unity and the Dominions* up to date, he reviews the development of Canadian autonomy under the heading of the Growth of Canadian Independence, the Territorial Limitation of Dominion Legislation, the Appeal to the Privy Council, Titles of Honour, Foreign Relations, Representation at International Conferences, International Status, Diplomatic Representation and Declaration of War. He believes that the time is ripe for the complete removal of territorial restriction in the case of merchant shipping, for the abrogation of the supremacy of Imperial legislation, in order that equality of status may be made a reality; for some arrangement apart from judicial interpretation by which Canada can alter her constitution; and for the abolition of the

royal veto over Dominion legislation. He sees in the near future a complete disappearance of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In the more intricate paths of diplomatic representation, foreign affairs, and declaration of war, Professor Keith is calm. Interpreting Canadian self-consciousness—a difficult thing to grasp in a vast federal territory—he sees clearly that Canada must achieve international status and separate diplomatic representation abroad and receive foreign diplomatic representatives. Meanwhile in connection with the declaration of war, he is confident that Canada must have an effective voice.

The article is valuable not only for its balanced outlook, which surveys issues practically assured by causes now at work, but for its silent challenge to Canada to develop within herself a wider and more profound type of political thinking.

The first part of Professor Adams's little book is a noble plea for peace by a practical idealist. Impatient of elaborate definitions, of complicated treaties, of interminable "provided-that's" and "in-the-event-of's", he would approach his ideal from the known, from the experienced, and would brush aside *doctrinaire* treatises and constitutions. His scheme is the union of the Anglo-Saxon nations. This union is not to be based on what will happen, given certain conditions, but on a positive thing—arbitration instead of war. As a preliminary he sees the necessity for the complete recognition of those things which Professor Keith foretells as inevitable in the British Commonwealth: the equality of the nations within it given concrete expression by the continuance of the Imperial War Cabinet. As a citizen of the United States he appreciates such a development, with its approximation to the type of the United States Executive, but he is at pains to point out that such an executive is really responsible in the best sense to the people, in that it responds, quite apart from congresses or parliaments, to public opinion, which indeed is the only real responsibility residing in popular assemblies nowadays. With such an executive recognized in the British Commonwealth, he feels not only that its members would feel and act on this real popular control, but, as a corporate body, would give such an example of a practical and powerful organization among six nations for peace that there ought to be no difficulty in the United States becoming a partner. Doubtless, as he points out, Imperial tendencies and economic exploitations would need to disappear before other nations, less allied in traditions and common heritages, would seek admission. He believes, however, that here is ready at hand a practical scheme, which avoids the devious ways of elaboration and does not forget the weaknesses of human nature—things which he believes make the Covenant of the League of

Nations almost stillborn—for the simple reason that it is merely the giving of a constitutional frame to what already exists in the British Empire, and offering a place later to the United States. Professor Adams thus brings forward a proposal which, if its complete realization is problematical, depending as it would on the United States, yet is a distinct challenge from a scholarly and independent critic to the British Commonwealth to accept the logic of realities and thus incidentally to create a bulwark against the disintegrating and destructive forces of war.

The second part of Professor Adams's little book, if not of such vital interest, is important and suggestive. It is an analysis of federal government much more intimate than Professor Dicey's. Not an end in itself but as a means towards national unity, Professor Adams sketches with careful pencil the outlines of the great federal constitutions of the world, and in passing he gives an appreciation of the Canadian federal system which is so accurate that we welcome the widening study in the United States which makes it possible. Emphasis is laid on the flexibility and adaptability of the federal form of government, and on the free opportunities given by it to the natural forces of union in a state to do their work. From the first consideration, Professor Adams sees opportunities for the application of the principle not merely to form new states, but more important still in reconstructing old states—for example, the British Isles. Here he is sympathetic. Nor is he without hope that its application might be worked out in the Balkans and in the Austrian Empire. From the second consideration, he sees the best means to allay internal irritations in any state. Federalism may mean a division of power, of functions, of areas, but it has proved itself, in the United States and in Canada, the means for national unity in those spheres where national unity is in reality tested.

Mr. Boyd, in an address delivered before the Montreal Reform Club on May 4, 1918, and now published in pamphlet form, reviews the relationship between Canada and Great Britain. He is entirely impatient of any form of Imperialism—from the elaborate scheme of Mr. Lionel Curtis, who by the way is not the official spokesman of the Round Table, down to the conception outlined by Professor Adams and growing out of the Imperial War Cabinet. Mr. Boyd's suspicions of all Imperialism are so great that he believes that Canada ought to reach forward to becoming "a great sovereign state with a flag and a national status of its own" (p. 73). This is her better ambition, otherwise annexation to the United States will become her destiny by the force of circumstances (*ib.*). Of course this new sovereign Canada is to be bound in "a lasting alliance of amity and goodwill not only with Great Britain,

France, and the United States but with all the free democratic nations of the earth" (*ib.*). The author does not tell us how this endurance is to be obtained, and it may be suggested that it might be possible to obtain it first within the Empire. Mr. Boyd's scheme of alliances is merely a League of Nations project. The project we have, since the Peace Treaty, in a manner within the British Commonwealth. Might it not be possible to solve it there? Are nationality and internationalism incompatible? Are Canadianism, in the very fullest sense of the word, and "Commonwealthism" incompatible? The world has been moving with tragic velocity since Mr. Boyd spoke, and the dizziness seems to tell us that we must grasp something more secure for the future than the overdevelopment of self-determination.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917. Edited by ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. Two volumes. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. xvi, 381; vii, 424.

THESE two small volumes, printed on thin paper, are intended to be sold cheaply and are evidence of the wide interest in the growth of self-government in the various states of the British Commonwealth. Dr. Keith, who speaks with authority on such questions, furnishes an introduction of only a few pages and leaves the documents to speak for themselves without any notes. These would have been useful, but each section is in fact sufficiently self-explanatory. Of the nine sections covering the whole field of colonial relations, three deal with Canada, two with Australia, and one with South Africa, while the remaining three deal with problems common to all, autonomy in internal affairs, relations with foreign powers, and imperial unity. Under the last section we have, of course, the growth of the Imperial Conference and the plans for common defence. The last document relates to things so recent as the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference in 1917. With a text-book at hand giving the historical setting of the documents students in the universities having these volumes would be admirably equipped for understanding the modern evolution of the British Empire. There are no documents relating to the American revolution. A few extracts from George III and Lord North would have furnished a telling contrast between the spirit which ruined the first British Empire and the spirit which has created the second.

On Canada the extracts are necessarily brief compared with those in the volumes of Professor Kennedy and Messrs Egerton and Grant. Section i, "The Origin of Representative Government in Canada",

covers the period from the Proclamation of 1763 to the Constitutional Act of 1791. Section ii, "The Deadlock in Canada and the Grant of Responsible Government", begins with Lord Durham's Report and ends with Lord Elgin's course in the crisis of 1849 when the parliament buildings were burned in Montreal. Section iv, "The Federation of Canada", has only Macdonald's speech in the Canadian parliament to give it value. We see that times have changed when we read in Section vii the correspondence in 1859 between the Colonial Office and Canada in regard to the recent raising of the rate of duty. There is nothing new in the documents; but the tone of the Colonial Office is amusing in its paternalism. The Duke of Newcastle solemnly regrets that England's blissful experiences after adopting Free Trade should be lost sight of in Canada. He practically endorses a protest from Sheffield against permitting Canada to put on duties. "It cannot be regarded as less than indecent," say these fine imperialists of Sheffield, that while the wise people of England have turned to Free Trade, Canada should be "advocating monopoly and protection". To their horror they find that through this stimulus "extensive and numerous hardware manufactories have sprung up both in Canada East and West", and that more are likely to follow. They insist that the Imperial government has the right to demand that this sort of thing shall stop and that Canada shall be required to raise her revenues in some way that will not hurt the manufacturing towns of Great Britain. There is a beautiful simplicity in the outlook of Sheffield, and it was met in Canada by Mr. Galt's blunt response that Canada intended to raise her revenues in her own way and not to meet the wishes "of a provincial town in England professedly actuated by selfish motives". There is, as we can see, abundant heat in tariffs.

The later contents of the second volume show a steady broadening of the problems of the Empire. In 1879 there is the question of the position of a High Commissioner for Canada in London. Then comes that of the right of the Dominions to negotiate with foreign powers in respect to commercial treaties. Lastly, we have internal problems, Imperial Federation, above all naval defence. The culmination of everything is in the Great War, and Dr. Keith gives as the note for the whole British Commonwealth the noble speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the House of Commons of Canada on August 19, 1914. The Imperial War Cabinet sat first in 1917, and the volumes close with the speeches in the concurrent Imperial War Conference on the new relations among the states of the British Commonwealth created by the war.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(*Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended review subsequently.*)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

ADAMS, GEORGE BURTON. *The British Empire and a League of Peace.* New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. iii, 115.

Reviewed on page 107.

AGLIONBY, the late Major A. H. *The Future of Imperial Relations* (United Empire, n.s., vol. x, no. 5, pp. 227-232).

An essay found in the papers of a British officer, who was when the war broke out a schoolmaster in Canada, and who was killed in Belgium four days before the armistice of November 11, 1919.

BOYD, JOHN. *The Future of Canada: Canadianism or Imperialism.* Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1919. Pp. 106.

Reviewed on page 107.

COURTNEY, W. L. & J. E. *Pillars of Empire: Studies and Impressions.* Drawings by Clive Gardiner. London: Jarrolds, Limited. [1919.] Pp. 331.

A series of sketches of some of the chief builders of the British Empire. In the section devoted to Canada, there are chapters on Lord Dorchester, Lord Durham, Sir John Macdonald, Lord Strathcona, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and Sir Robert Borden. The volume contains an index.

DARBY, ARTHUR E. *Federation or Empire* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 1, pp. 11-15).

A plea for the settlement of the question of imperial relations by popular vote in each part of the Empire.

HARVEY, J. G. *Our Future in the British Empire* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 2, pp. 137-145).

A criticism of Mr. J. W. Dafoe's paper on "Our Future in the Empire: Alliance under the Crown", published in the collection of essays entitled *The New Era in Canada*, edited by J. O. Miller (Toronto, 1917).

JENKS, EDWARD. *The Government of the British Empire.* Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. [n.d.] Pp. viii, 403.

Reviewed on page 107.

KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE. *The Canadian Constitution and External Relations* (The Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, 3rd series, vol. i, part i, pp. 7-24).

Reviewed on page 107.

—— —— (ed.). *Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917.* Two vols. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. xvi, 381; vii, 424.

Reviewed on page 111.

LANG, WILLIAM. *The Imperial Position in 1919* (United Empire, n.s. vol. x, no. 8, pp. 372-376).

An able resumé of the imperial question at the end of the war.

MILNER, Visccount. *The British League of Nations* (United Empire, n.s. vol. x, no. 5, pp. 223-225).

A speech delivered before the Manchester branch of the Royal Colonial Institute on April 10, 1919.

WADE, The Hon. F. C. *High Commissioners and Agents-General* (The Empire Review, vol. xxxiii, no. 226, pp. 359-367).

A sketch of the history of the official agencies of the Dominion of Canada and the Canadian provinces in London, culminating in a plea for the recognition of the provincial agents-general by the British government.

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

DE CELLES, ALFRED D. *Les Constitutions du Canada.* Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1918. Pp. 76.

A brief sketch of Canadian constitutional history.

HASSARD, A. R. *Great Canadian Orators* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 4, pp, 263-269; no. 5, pp. 423-430; no. 6, pp. 455-463; vol. liv, no. 2, pp. 180-184).

Biographical sketches of D'Arcy McGee, Joseph Howe, Nicholas Flood Davin, Louis Joseph Papineau, and the Rev. Dr. George Douglas.

HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE GENERAL STAFF (ed.) *A History of the Organization, Development, and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada, from the Peace of Paris in 1763, to the Present Time.* With Illustrative Documents. Volume I: *The Local Forces of New France; the Militia of the Province of Quebec, 1763-1775.* [n.d.] Pp. 148.

To be reviewed later.

WOOD, WILLIAM. *Flag and Fleet: How the British Navy Won the Freedom of the Seas.* With a preface by Admiral-of-the-Fleet Sir David Beatty. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1919.

An admirable little book, published under the auspices of the Navy League of Canada, and "written for the reading of Canadian boys and girls". While it does not relate to Canada except incidentally, it deals with a factor in Canadian history often too little emphasized.

(2) The History of New France

BROWN, STUART. *Old Kaskaskia Days and Ways* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, vol. ii, no. 1, pp. 61-73).

A brief sketch of the history of Old Kaskaskia in the Illinois country.

CARON, L'abbé IVANHOE. *Pierre Gauthier de Varennes de la Vérendrye et ses fils* (Le Canada Français, vol. ii, no. 3, pp. 170-182).

A paper written to controvert some of the conclusions of M. de Trémaudan (*q.v.*) with regard to the La Vérendrye sons. The abbé Caron believes that "le chevalier" was not the third son, François, but the youngest son, Louis-Joseph.

DE TRÉMAUDAN, A. H. *A propos des frères la Vérendrye* (Le Canada Français, vol. ii, no. 2, pp. 109-117).

A paper written to combat certain errors commonly made by historians regarding the sons of La Vérendrye. M. de Trémaudan maintains that the most famous of the sons of the discoverer, the son known as "le chevalier", is not, as has been commonly supposed, the eldest son, Pierre, but the third son François; that

the journeys of 1738-1739 and of 1842-1843 were made not by Pierre and François, but by François and Louis; and that only the journey of 1741, the least important of the three, was made by Pierre.

—— —— *Le Chevalier de la Vérendrye* (Le Canada Français, vol. iii, no. 4, pp. 286-293).

A reply to the article by the Abbé Ivanhoë Caron on *Pierre Gauthier de Varennes de la Vérendrye et ses fils* (*q.v.*).

FOSSUM, ANDREW. *The Norse Discovery of America.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House. 1918. Pp. 160.

Reviewed on page 61.

GIRAULT, ARTHUR. *The Colonial Tariff Policy of France.* Edited by Charles Gide. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Division of Economics and History.) Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1916. Pp. ix, 305.

To be reviewed later.

GROULX, L'ABBÉ LIONEL. *Le peuplement de la Nouvelle-France* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Août, 1919, pp. 145-149).

An essay devoted to the explanation of the meagreness of French immigration to New France.

LOCKE, GEORGE H. *When Canada was New France.* Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 154.

A little book of a dozen chapters which aims at giving, without any organic connection of narrative, some of the interesting episodes in the history of New France, for the use of those young either in years or in spirit.

LONN, ELLA. *The French Council of Commerce in relation to American Trade* (The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. vi, no. 2, pp. 192-219).

"A study of the council of commerce of France in relation to the problems of American trade from the time of its organization in 1700 until 1734." To be reviewed later.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Nicolas de Mouchy, Notaire royal à Montréal* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 3, pp. 83-89).

New details concerning the life and notarial acts of Nicolas de Mouchy, who was royal notary at Montreal from 1664 to 1669.

—— —— *L'inventaire des biens de Lambert Closse* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 1, pp. 16-31).

A hitherto unpublished document. Lambert Closse was one of the early soldier-colonists of Montreal, and the inventory of his goods, which is dated 1662, throws light not only on the personality of Lambert Closse himself, but also on the social history of New France in the seventeenth century.

MCLENNAN, J. S. *Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-1758.* London: Macmillan and Co. 1918. Pp. xi, 454.

Reviewed on pages 65-68.

PRUD'HOMME, L.-A. *Autour du fort Saint-Charles* (Le Canada Français, vol. iii, no. 4, pp. 278-283).

A short paper correcting a misstatement by the Abbé Caron in his article on *Pierre Gauthier de Varennes de la Vérendrye et ses fils* (*q.v.*), with regard to the question as to where the credit lies for discovering the remains of Father Aulneau and Jean-Baptiste La Vérendrye in 1908.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *La Seigneurie de Cap Saint-Claude on Vincennes.* Lévis. 1919. Pp. 46.

Reviewed on page 63.

—— —— *Le Chevalier de la Vérendrye* (Le Canada Français, vol. iii, no. 4, pp. 294-295)

A brief communication in which M. Roy supports the contention of the Abbé Ivanhoë Caron, in his paper on *Pierre Gaulhier de Varennes de la Vérendrye et ses fils* (*q.v.*), that the son of La Vérendrye who was known as "le chevalier" was Louis-Joseph.

—— —— *Le Sieur de Vincennes, Fondateur de l'Indiana, el Sa Famille.* Québec: Charrier and Dugal. 1919. Pp. xv, 365.

Reviewed on page 63.

—— —— *Les ordonnances des six premiers intendants de la Nouvelle-France* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 6, pp. 161-174; no. 7, pp. 193-205).

A valuable calendar of the ordinances of the intendants of New France from 1665 to 1705, so far as they are known. In the provincial archives of Quebec, the ordinances of the intendants after 1705 are preserved almost complete; but the earlier ordinances would seem to have been destroyed. M. Roy, however, has been able to make up, from a variety of sources, what is at any rate a partial list.

—— —— *Un mémoire de M. de Bourlamaque sur le Canada* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 9, pp. 257-276; no. 10, pp. 289-305).

A report on Canada, hitherto unpublished, which was submitted to the French government by Bourlamaque in 1762; now edited by M. Roy from the copy in the provincial archives of Quebec.

ROY, RÉGIS. *Les Compagnons de Cartier* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 5, pp. 155-157).

Some criticisms in detail of the late Dr. Dionne's book on Jacques Cartier, with especial reference to the names and identity of the crews Cartier brought with him on his second voyage.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Au Nipigon, 1727* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 133-138).

A chapter in the history of the fur trade.

—— —— *Le Pays des Fourrures* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 23-30).

A valuable study of the conditions prevailing in the western fur trade in Canada subsequent to the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. Unfortunately, there is in the paper no attempt to indicate sources or authorities.

—— —— *Les Bourguignons en Canada* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxiv, pp. 438-44).

A paper estimating the contribution made by Burgundy to the origins of the French-Canadian race.

—— —— *Mélanges Historiques: Etudes éparses et inédites.* Vols. II, III, and IV. Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1919. Pp. 148; 156; 103.

Reviewed on pages 62 and 83.

THOMPSON, JOSEPH J. *The French in Illinois* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, vol. ii, no. 1, pp. 4-45).

An account, with illustrations, of French exploration and settlement in the Illinois country.

(3) The History of British North America to 1867

AUDET, FRANCIS J. *L'Année de la grande noirceur* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Quebec, vol. 13, no. 5, pp. 296-299).

An account of atmospheric disturbances, the "dark days", of October, 1785.

BIXBY, GEORGE S. *Peter Sailly (1754-1826), a Pioneer of the Champlain Valley.* With extracts from his diary and letters. (New York State Library: History Bulletin 12.) Albany: University of the State of New York. 1919. Pp. 94.

To be reviewed later.

BURPEE, L. J. *A Forgotten Adventurer of the Fur Trade* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxvi, no. 3, pp. 363-380).

A sketch of the life of Donald McKenzie, brother of Roderick McKenzie, and cousin of Sir Alexander Mackenzie.

CAMERON, Sheriff D. M. *The Fourth Middlesex Militia Regiment* (Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, part x, 1919, pp. 16-24).

Some notes on the history of the regiment of Middlesex Militia, from its embodiment in 1793 to 1830.

DAVIDSON, GORDON CHARLES. *The North West Company.* (University of California Publications in History, vol. vii.) Berkeley: University of California Press. 1919. Pp. xi, 349.

Reviewed on pages 71-74.

DE LA BRUÈRE, M. B. *Le Duc de Kent: A quelle date faut-il assigner son départ définitif du Canada?* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 12, pp. 367-376).

Correspondence between the Duke of Kent and General Prescott in 1798-1799, which settles the exact date of the Duke's departure from Halifax in the autumn of 1798.

GORMAN, Major HENRY. *The 100th Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment* (Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, part x, 1919, pp. 5-15).

A short account of "the raising in the old provinces of Canada of the first regiment of Canadians for foreign service in the British army".

HALLAM, Mrs. W. T. *Slave Days in Canada.* Reprinted from The Canadian Churchman. Toronto. [1919.] Pp. 15.

A sketch of the history of negro slavery in Canada.

LANDON, F. *The Fugitive Slave in Canada* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 2, pp. 270-279).

An interesting account of the part played by Canada in the abolition of negro slavery in North America.

LEA, ALICE (ed.). *Some Unpublished Letters of Sir John Franklin, Sir John Richardson, and Others* (Annual Report and Transaction No. 17 of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, 1917-1918, pp. 12-36).

Some letters written by Franklin, Richardson, and Dease to Robert McVicar, a Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, during their exploring expeditions to the far North-West in 1819-1822 and 1825-1827.

MERENESS, NEWTON D. (ed.). *Travels in the American Colonies.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. 694.

Reviewed on page 69.

MORISON, J. L. *British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government, 1839-1854.* Toronto: S. B. Gundy. 1919. Pp. xi, 369.

Reviewed on pages 77-80.

PIUZE, J.-R. *Récit des aventures de Liveright Puize, médecin, écrit par lui-même, et traduit par J. R. Puize* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 11, pp. 332-366).

Translation of the autobiography of a Polish physician who served with the American army in the War of the Revolution, was afterwards kidnapped by Indians, was handed over to the English commandant at Niagara, and ultimately settled down as a licensed surgeon and apothecary at River Ouelle, where he died in 1813.

WALLACE, W. STEWART. *The First Canadian Agent in London* (Canadian Magazine, vol. lii, no. 6, 1037-1040).

An account, based on research, of Fowler Walker, the London agent of the English mercantile element in Canada from 1765 to 1770 *circa*.

——— (ed.). *The Maseres Letters, 1766-1768*. With an Introduction, Notes, and Appendices. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1919. Pp. 135.

Reviewed on page 69.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

AUCLAIR, L'abbé ELIE-J. *Les fêtes du monument Cartier à Montreal* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxiv, pp. 241-263).

An account of the proceedings at the unveiling of the monument to Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier in Montreal in September, 1919.

——— *Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxiii, pp. 161-175).

An obituary notice.

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *A Successful Experiment in International Relations*. (An Address delivered before the Victorian Club of Boston on February 17th, 1919.) Ottawa: the King's Printer. 1919. Pp. 13.

An account of the origin and history of the International Joint Commission between Canada and the United States.

CAMERON, A. KIRK. *Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxvi, no. 4, pp. 420-431).

An obituary notice.

DAVID, L.-O. *Laurier: sa vie, ses oeuvres*. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1919. Pp. 268.

Reviewed on page 85.

HAWKES, ARTHUR. *The Birthright: A Search for the Canadian Canadian and the Larger Loyalty*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. [1919.] Pp. xx, 380.

To be reviewed later.

HOPKINS, J. CASTELL. *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1918*. Illustrated. Toronto: The Canadian Annual Review, Limited. 1919. Pp. 879.

The sixteenth issue of this very useful review of current Canadian history. In addition to purely Canadian affairs, the *Review* deals with "The Last Stages of the World War", "The British Empire in the War", "The United States and the War", and "Socialism and the Labour Problem".

LEMIEUX, RODOLPHE. *Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, May, 1919, pp. 3-10).

An obituary article by one of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's former colleagues.

MCARTHUR, PETER. *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 184.

Reviewed on page 85.

MACPHAIL, SIR ANDREW. *The Conservative* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 4, pp. 419-444).

A disquisition on Canadian political tendencies which culminates in a plea for a coalition between Sir Robert Borden and Sir Lomer Gouin.

——— *Article Nineteen* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 3, pp. 311-326).

A proposal that Canada should take advantage of Article Nineteen of the League of Nations Covenant, to have the question of the Maine boundary line between Canada and the United States re-opened.

MORLEY, PERCIVAL FELLMAN. *Bridging the Chasm: A Study of the Ontario-Quebec Question*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 182.

Reviewed on page 105.

MOSHER, AUSTIN. *Quebec in our First Parliament* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 4, pp. 312-314).

A description of the Quebec members in the first parliament of Canada after Confederation, "the ablest body of legislators ever sent to Ottawa from French Canada".

MURRAY, GIDEON. *Canada and the British West Indies* (United Empire, n.s., vol. x, no. 2, pp. 54-58).

An account of the obstacles in the way of the political union of Canada and the British West Indies.

PETERSON, C. W. *Wake Up, Canada! Reflections on Vital National Issues.* Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1919. Pp. xiv, 365.

Reviewed on page 104.

WILLISON, SIR JOHN. *Reminiscences, Political and Personal.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1919. Pp. 358.

Reviewed on page 87.

(5) The History of the Great War

ADAMI, J. GEORGE. *War Story of the Canadian Army Medical Corps.* Vol. I: *The First Contingent (to the Autumn of 1915).* Published for the Canadian War Records Office. London: The Rolls House Publishing Co. [1918.] Pp. x, 286.

Reviewed on page 97.

BALDWIN, Sergeant HAROLD. *"Holding the Line".* With Illustrations and Diagrams. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co. 1918.

The story of the First Canadian Contingent, at Valcartier, at Salisbury Plains, and at the Second Battle of Ypres.

BRUCE, HERBERT A. *Politics and the Canadian Army Medical Corps.* Toronto: Wm. Briggs. 1919. Pp. 321.

Reviewed on page 97.

CORNELOUP, CLAUDIUS. *L'Epopée du Vingt-Deuxième.* Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1919. Pp. 150.

An illustrated history of the famous 22nd French-Canadian battalion, from its formation to the autumn of 1918, by the battalion sergeant-major.

COSGRAVE, Lt.-Col. L. MOORE. *Afterthoughts of Armageddon.* Toronto: S. B. Gundy. [n.d.] Pp. 35.

A retrospect, by an officer who fought throughout the war.

DAFOE, J. W. *Over the Canadian Battlefields.* Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1919. Pp. 89.

A series of articles by the official representative of the Canadian Press at the Paris Peace Conference, describing a visit to the battlefields of northern France in the early spring of 1919.

HOPKINS, J. CASTELL. *Canada at War: A Record of Heroism and Achievement, 1914-1918.* Toronto: The Canadian Annual Review, Ltd. 1919. Pp. viii, 448.

Reviewed on page 89.

LIVESAY, J. F. B. *Canada's Hundred Days: With the Canadian Corps from Amiens to Mons, Aug. 8-Nov. 11, 1918.* Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1919. Pp. 421.

Reviewed on page 94.

MCKENZIE, F. A. *Through the Hindenburg Line: The Crowning Days on the Western Front.* Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton. 1919. Pp. viii, 429.

Reviewed on page 95.

NASMITH, Colonel GEORGE G. *Canada's Sons and Great Britain in the World War.* Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1919. Pp. xx, 606.

Reviewed on page 89.

OVERSEAS MILITARY FORCES OF CANADA. Report of the Ministry, 1918. London [1919.] Pp. xv, 533.

Reviewed on page 96.

PEAT, HAROLD R. *Private Peat.* With Maps and Illustrations. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. [n.d.] Pp. 235.

The story of the First Canadian Contingent, up to the end of the Second Battle of Ypres, told vivaciously from the point of view of a private soldier.

RAY, ANNA CHAPIN (ed.). *Letters of a Canadian Stretcher-Bearer, by R. A. L.* Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1918. Pp. vii, 288.

The letters of a battalion stretcher-bearer, describing the Canadian operations at Vimy Ridge and Lens in 1917.

RINFRET, FERNAND. *Un Voyage en Angleterre et au Front Français.* Articles publiés dans "Le Canada", September 1918. Pp. 93.

Reprint of a series of articles written by a French-Canadian journalist while on the officially conducted tour of Canadian newspapermen to the front in 1918.

[ROBERTS, Capt. THEODORE G., and others.] *Thirty Canadian V.C.'s, 23rd April 1915 to 30th March 1918.* Compiled by the Canadian War Records Office. London: Skeffington and Son. [n.d.].

Narratives describing, from official sources, how the Canadian Victoria Crosses were won.

SULLIVAN, ALAN (ed.). *Aviation in Canada, 1917-1918: Being a brief account of the work of the Royal Air Force, Canada, the Aviation Department of the Imperial Munitions Board and the Canadian Aeroplanes Limited.* Toronto: Rous and Mann. [1919.] Pp. 318.

To be reviewed later.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) Labrador and the Maritime Provinces

GRENFELL, WILFRED THOMASON. *A Labrador Doctor: An Autobiography.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. 442.

To be reviewed later.

EATON, A. W. H. *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia.* No. XIV: *Halifax Harbour and Its Famous Traditions.* (Americana, vol. xiii, no. 3, pp. 253-274).

Continuation of Dr. Eaton's history of Halifax.

LOGAN, J. D. *A Political Bayard* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 4, pp. 336-341).

An account of the life of the Hon. G. H. Murray, prime minister of Nova Scotia.

COUILLARD-DESPRÉS, L'abbé A. *Observations sur L'Histoire de l'Acadie Françoise de M. Moreau, Paris 1873.* Montréal. 1919. Pp. 149.

To be reviewed later.

(2) The Province of Quebec

BOUFFARD, JEAN. *La frontière entre la province de Québec et la colonie de l'Ile Terreneuve, sur la côte du Labrador* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 7-10).

A brief sketch over the disputes between Quebec and Newfoundland over the Labrador boundary.

—— —— *Origine de la propriété privée dans la province de Québec* (Le Canada Francais, vol. iii, no. 1, pp. 26-37; no. 2, pp. 93-99).

A study of the granting of land in the province of Quebec down to the abolition of the seigniorial tenure in 1854.

MAGNAN, HORMISDAS. *Les drapeaux arborés dans la province de Québec, armes et emblèmes* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 5, pp. 129-149).

An account of the origin of the various flags which have been hoisted, either

officially or unofficially, in the province of Quebec from the beginning of the French period.

——— *Notes historiques sur le Nord de la province de Québec, la Baie d'Hudson, l'Ungava* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 4, pp. 105-119).

A summary of explorations in "New Quebec".

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Les incendies à Montreal sous le régime français* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxv, no. 7, pp. 215-218).

List of the fires which are known to have ravaged Montreal in the French period.

MAURAULT, OLIVIER. *Dollier de Casson* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, February, 1919, pp. 361-370).

An account of the life of the Sulpician priest who was the first civil engineer and the first architect in Montreal.

MERCIER, PAUL-E. *Le Nouveau Québec* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Août, 1919, pp. 150-159).

A description of the new territory acquired in 1912 by the province of Quebec, in the northern part of the Labrador peninsula.

RIVARD, ADJUTOR. *Chez nos Gens.* Quebec: Action Sociale Catholique. 1918. Pp. 136.

Sketches of French-Canadian life.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BRAY, REGINALD V. *The Medical Profession of the City of Chatham and County of Kent: A History* (Kent Historical Society: Papers and Addresses, vol. 4, pp. 5-12).

A record of those who have practised medicine in the County of Kent.

CARNOCHAN, JANET (ed.). *Niagara Historical Society: No. 31.* Niagara. [n.d.]. Pp. 48.

Contains some hitherto unpublished letters of 1812, contributed by General Cruikshank, a note on Brock's monument by the Editor, an account of the Irish emigrants in Niagara in 1847, some United Empire Loyalist claims, and some inscriptions from graves in the Niagara district.

COSTAIN, T. B. *The Farmer in Politics* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 4, pp. 454-458).

An estimate of the political significance of "the dramatic seizure of power in Ontario by the farmers".

DENISON, Colonel GEORGE T. *Recollections of a Police Magistrate* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 3, pp. 177-186).

Beginning of a series of reminiscences by the senior police magistrate of Toronto.

FRASER, ALEXANDER. *Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario.* Toronto: The King's Printer. 1918. Pp. vi, 478.

Reviewed on pages 74-77.

HERRINGTON, WALTER S. (ed.). *The Newspapers of the County: A Historical Survey of the Newspapers of Lennox and Addington presented in the form of extracts from the old files.* (Lennox and Addington Historical Society: Papers and Records: vol. x.) Napanee, Ontario: published by the Society. 1919. Pp. 62.

A history of the newspapers of Lennox and Addington, illustrated by extracts mainly relating to "the separation of the County".

HICKS, A. A. *Growth of Methodism in Chatham and Vicinity* (Kent Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. x, 1919, pp. 34-39).

A few notes on Methodist church history in Canada.

HILL, HAMNETT P. *Robert Randall and the Le Breton Flats: An account of the early legal and political controversies respecting a large portion of the present city of Ottawa.*

Ottawa: James Hope and Sons. [1919.] Pp. 62.
Reviewed on page 82.

HOPKINS, J. CASTELL. *The Province of Ontario in the War: A Record of Government and People.* Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter. 1919. Pp. vii, 126.
An illustrated account of the history of the province of Ontario during the period of the war, compiled by the editor of *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs.*

LANDON, FRED. *Fugitive Slaves in London before 1860* (Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, part x, 1919, pp. 25-38).
Notes on the history of the negro community in London, Ontario, before the outbreak of the American Civil War.

MCKEOUGH, GEORGE T. *The Early Indian Occupation of Kent* (Kent Historical Society: Papers and Addresses, vol. 4, 1919, pp. 13-27).
Notes on the Huron and Neutral Indians in the County of Kent.

RIDDELL, W. R. *The Slave in Upper Canada* (The Journal of Negro History, vol. iv, no. 4, pp. 372-411).
An account, based on original research, and fully documented, of the history of slavery in Upper Canada. Appended to the paper is a collection of documents, taken from the Canadian Archives.

SEXSMITH, W. N. *Some Notes on the Buxton Settlement, Raleigh, Kent County* (Kent Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. x, 1919, pp. 40-44).
An account of a settlement for negro refugees founded in 1849 in the County of Kent.

SISSONS, C. B. *A Housing Policy for Ontario* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 3, pp. 241-248).
A brief account of the work done in Ontario under the Housing Accommodation Act of 1913 and the Dwellings Act of 1919.

WILLIAMS, DAVID. *The Indians of the County of Simcoe* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 3, pp. 204-210).
An historical sketch.

(4) The Western Provinces

ELLIOTT, T. C. *David Thompson's Journeys in the Spokane Country* (The Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. x, no. 1, pp. 17-20).
A brief note, to which is appended a transcript of David Thompson journal for March 15-29, 1812.

—— —— *The Northern Boundary of Oregon* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xx, no. 1, pp. 25-34).
A brief paper containing a report of an important letter written by Governor Pelly of the Hudson's Bay Company to the British Foreign Secretary in 1825 relative to the Oregon boundary.

JUDSON, KATHARINE B. *Polk and Oregon,—With a Pakenham Letter* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xx, no. 3, pp. 301-302).
A note embodying an interesting letter written in 1846 by the British Ambassador at Washington with regard to President Polk's attitude to the Oregon boundary question.

—— —— *The British Side of the Restoration of Fort Astoria* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xx, no. 3, pp. 243-260, no. 4, pp. 305-330).
An admirable piece of investigation, based on researches in the Public Record Office and the Hudson's Bay Company's archives in London, with regard to the restoration of Fort Astoria to the Americans at the end of the war of 1812-1815.

MEYERS, JACOB A. *Jacques Raphael Finlay* (The Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. x, no. 3, pp. 163-167).

Materials for a biographical sketch for a famous half-breed servant of the North West Company.

SCHOLEFIELD, E. O. S. (ed.). *House of Assembly Correspondence Book, August 12th, 1856, to July 6th, 1859.* (Archives of British Columbia: Memoir no. iv.). Victoria: the King's Printer. 1918. Pp. 62.

To be reviewed later.

THOMPSON, BRAM. *Canada's Suzerainty over the West: An Indictment of the Dominion and Parliament of Canada for the National Crime of Usurping the Public Land of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.* Toronto: The Carswell Co. 1919. Pp. 42.

An arraignment of the Federal Government of Canada for violating the spirit of the B.N.A. Act of 1867.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

BENT, A. H. *The Unexplored Mountains of North America* (Geographical Review, June, 1919, pp. 403-412).

A brief account of mountaineering work still to be done in North America, including work in the Canadian Rockies.

BULLER, A. H. REGINALD. *Essays on Wheat.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xv, 329.

An historical survey of wheat-growing in the West with special reference to the discovery and introduction of Marquis Wheat by Dr. Chas. E. Saunders of Ottawa, and to modern methods of handling wheat, storage, transportation, inspection, etc. To be reviewed later.

CARLYLE, RANDOLPH. *Canadian National Railways* (Canadian Magazine, vol. lii, no. 5, pp. 929-941).

A popular account of the growth of Canada's government railways.

FABIUS. *52 Questions on the Nationalization of Canadian Railways.* Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. [1919.] Pp. 127.

A vigorous arraignment, couched in the form of a catechism, of the principle of railway nationalization in Canada.

FOOTNER, HULBERT. *New Rivers of the North: The Yarn of Two Amateur Explorers of the Head-waters of the Fraser, the Peace River, the Hay River, Alexandra Falls.* With photographs. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. [n.d.]. Pp. 281.

A new edition of a book first published in 1912, and reviewed in *The Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, vol. xvii, pp. 142-143.

FREIR, F. W. *Canada, the Land of Opportunities.* London: A. and C. Black. 1919. Pp. vii, 154.

A book of advice and description for intending immigrants into Canada.

GEOGRAPHIC BOARD OF CANADA. *Catalogue of the Maps in the Collection of the Geographic Board: List of the Maps Corrected to 1st January, 1918.* Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1918. Pp. 50.

The catalogue "comprises, with very few exceptions, all the important maps of Canada issued during recent years." It is accompanied by a graphical index, containing twelve index maps.

GOOD, W. C. *Production and Taxation in Canada, from the Farmers' Standpoint.* Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. ix, 133.

Reviewed on page 103.

HEAP, F. *Ukrainians in Canada* (Canadian Magazine, vol. liii, no. 1, pp. 39-44).

"An estimate of the presence, ideals, religion, tendencies, and citizenship of

perhaps three hundred thousand Ukrainians in Canada."

LEVASSEUR, N. *Le bassin du grand fleuve Mackenzie* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 13, no. 4, 203-211; no. 5, 269-286).

An account of the physiography of the basin of the Mackenzie River, and a sketch of the history of its exploration.

LLOYD-OWEN, V. *The Peace River District, Canada—Its Resources and Opportunities* (United Empire, n.s., vol. x, no. 5, pp. 244-249).

A paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute, Westminster, on February 4, 1919.

MACIVER, R. M. *Labour in the Changing World.* Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 230.

Reviewed on page 100.

MEIGHEN, The Hon. ARTHUR. *Canada's Natural Resources* (Canadian Magazine, vol. lii, no. 4, pp. 819-828).

An address delivered by the Canadian minister of the interior before the Royal Geographical Society in London.

PRICE, ENID M. *The Changes in the Industrial Occupations of Women in the Environment of Montreal during the War Period, 1914-1918.* Published by the Canadian Reconstruction Association. Montreal: McGill University, Department of Economics and Political Science. 1919. Pp. 86.

A statistical investigation into the industrial employment of women in Montreal during the war.

SANDWELL, B. K. *Railways and Government* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 4, pp. 459-469).

A penetrating analysis of the problems confronting public ownership of railways in Canada.

STEWART, BRYCE M. *The Employment Service of Canada* (Bulletin of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston). 1919. Pp. 25.

Reviewed on page 102.

WEST, EDWARD. *Homesteading: Two Prairie Seasons.* With 32 illustrations. London: T. Fisher Unwin. [n.d.]. Pp. 302.

A book describing the life of a Canadian settler on the land.

V. ECCLESIASTICAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

DAVID, L. O. *Sa Grandeur Mgr Paul Bruchesi, archevêque de Montréal.*

An appreciation of the work of the present Archbishop of Montreal, by a veteran French-Canadian politician and littérateur.

GOSSELIN, L'abbé AUGUSTE. *La Constitution de 1791 et le clergé canadien* (Le Canada Français, vol. ii, no. 4, pp. 286-293; no. 5, pp. 368-378).

Pages extracted from an unpublished manuscript of the late Abbé Auguste Gosselin on the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada.

HEENEY, Canon BERTAL. *Leaders of the Canadian Church.* Toronto: The Musson Book Co. 1918. Pp. vii, 319.

Reviewed on page 80.

MACDOUGALL, J. B. *Building the North.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1919. Pp. 268.

A book describing the history of the educational system in Northern Ontario, the conditions under which education is conducted in that still half-developed region, and the statistics illustrating what has been accomplished; written by the Supervisory Inspector of Elementary Schools in the Northern Districts of Ontario.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION. *Report of the Proceedings of the National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship.* Winnipeg, 1919. Pp. v, 135, 12.

Official verbatim report of proceedings and discussions of the Educational Conference held in Winnipeg, October 20-22, 1919.

VINCENT, IRVING O. *Education in Quebec* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 3, pp. 389-417).

A survey of the recent history of education in the province of Quebec, with special reference to the question of compulsory attendance.

——— *School Attendance in Quebec* (University Magazine, vol. xviii, no. 1, pp. 207-217).

A discussion of the question of compulsory education in the province of Quebec.

WILSON, R. A. *The Educational Survey of Saskatchewan* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxvi, pp. 323-339).

In 1917 a survey of educational conditions in the province of Saskatchewan was undertaken by an American specialist, under instructions from the provincial government. Mr. Wilson's paper is a summary of the specialist's report, and a criticism of the educational ideals set forth therein.

VI. ARCHAEOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND FOLK-LORE

(*Contributed by C. M. Barbeau.*)

HOLMES, W. H. *Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities.* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 60.) Washington. 1919. Pp. xvii, 380.

A valuable and carefully prepared handbook, which forms part of the series of handbooks bearing on the aboriginal history of North America, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology. Although American archaeology is still far from having reached its ultimate goal, that is laying bare the prehistoric ages of America, it is considerably advanced by such a masterly contribution as this. On examining the comparatively few references to the Canadian domain, one is unavoidably reminded of the lack of systematic investigation in this field. Only a few casual efforts have been made here and there, which have often proved fruitless or even destructive, from a lack of trained archaeologists. Dr. Holmes's book, it is true, is not quite up-to-date in this respect. Important data from Ontario, the Maritime Provinces, the Arctic Coast and the Western Plains, now available for museum study, were not known to him, at any rate at the time when he prepared his digest. Such scanty data, however, would not as yet enable a student to attack in their entirety any of the fundamental problems of Canadian archaeology—such as, the past frontiers of Eskimo penetration in the East or in the West, the respective spheres and fluctuations of Algonkian and intrusive Iroquoian cultures in the eastern woodlands, the occupancy of the plains and northwestern valleys and plateaus by native races, the antiquity of the Northwest Coast culture, and the possibility of a displacement of ancient races.

THOMPSON, STITH. *European Tales among the North American Indians, A Study in the Migration of Folk-tales* (Colorado College Publication, Language Series, vol. ii, no. 33, April-May, 1919, pp. 319-471).

Although quite brief and admittedly incomplete, this comparative study of intrusive European folk-tales in the lore of North American natives is most welcome. In conformity with currently accredited methods, the author carefully analyses more than twenty folk-tales borrowed by the Indians and compares them with parallel European versions, in many cases indicating their presumed French or Spanish origin. He also "tries to show by concrete examples how the material of

folk-tales behaves under a different environment from that which gave it birth". Many of the versions which he utilizes are from Canadian sources, either native or French.

COPE, LEONA. *Calendars of the Indians North of Mexico* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Nov. 6, 1919, pp. 119-176).

A suggestive study of time-reckoning systems in use among the North American Indians outside of Mexico. Bases and units of time reckoning, types of calendars, their centres of development and diffusion, constitute its leading categories. The materials utilized are in part derived from ethnographic literature and also from yet unpublished data from different sources. The only criticism of this well-balanced analysis to be made is that it reveals an undue haste in preparation—some data have been misunderstood, and misprints in native terms are too many—and a certain lack of critical insight in dealing with some of the important topics, in particular that of diffusion of types.

HAEBERLIN, H. K. *Principles of aesthetic form in the Art of the North Pacific Coast* (American Anthropologist, July-Sept., 1918, pp. 258-264).

With remarkable insight, Dr. Haeberlin points out that "a purely ethnological" (ethnographic is a more suitable word) "point of view in the study of primitive art is inadequate. We need a broader culture-historical outlook". . . . "By an intensive study . . . we become conscious of the essential identity of problems in primitive art and in our own." With a view to finding out the principles or laws underlying the plastic art of the Northwest Coast he indicates various outstanding traits that should be analysed and studied in relation to other elements. The conclusions gradually evolved out of the materials by these means would, indeed, be of great value for the understanding of some essential traits of human psychology. After all, our concrete ethnographic records tend to the ultimate marshalling of the scattered data into philosophic conclusions that will increase our understanding of the forces of nature blindly operating even in the complex mentality of man.

SPECK, F. G. *The Functions of Wampum among the Eastern Algonkian* (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Jan.-March, 1919, pp. 71).

WAUGH, F. W. *Canadian aboriginal Canoes* (The Canadian Field-Naturalist, May, 1919, no. 2, pp. 23-33).

Dr. Speck's searching study of *wampum* is by far the most extensive contribution on this favourite theme of Indian curio collectors. In his labour of love he has left no stone unturned, and little remains to be added to the subject.

In his technological study Mr. Waugh minutely examines the historical aspects of canoe-making and the diffusion of the various Canadian types. His carefully presented materials are largely drawn from his personal observations in the field or of the specimens belonging to the Anthropological Division (Geological Survey, Canada). To his passing remark on "bull-boats" we may add that this distinctly south-western type is also familiar to some Eastern Woodland tribes, in particular to the Lorette Hurons, who use it as an "emergency" canoe.

HEWITT, J. N. B. *Seneca Fiction, Legends, and Myths, Part I, Collected by Jeremiah Curtin and J. N. B. Hewitt* (Thirty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology). Washington: Government Printing Office. 1918. Pp. 37-791.

MICHELSON, TRUMAN. *Ojibwa Texts Collected by William Jones.* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society.) New York: G. E. Stechert and Co. 1919. Pp. x, 777.

Few of the past contributions in Indian mythology and folk-tales can be compared in value and excellence to these two long-expected monographs. Both alike

consist of materials carefully edited by two leading specialists of the Bureau of American Ethnology, long familiar with the technicalities of their subjects. The bulk of the Seneca collection is due to the late Jeremiah Curtin, while the entire Ojibwa set of narratives was left, also in incomplete manuscript form, by the late William Jones, a talented half-breed ethnologist, who was killed by Filipinos among whom he was carrying on research work. Linguists and mythologists alike will welcome these voluminous accessions to their science, as all the Ojibwa texts are given both in the original language and in free translations, and seventy-five pages of the Iroquoian texts are cited with their interlinear translation. Such records effectively pave the way for larger comparative studies.

TEIT, JAMES A. *Tahltan Tales* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, April-June, 1919, no. 124, pp. 198-250).

SKINNER, ALANSON. *Plains Ojibwa Tales* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, April-June, 1919, no. 124, pp. 280-305).

SAPIR, E. *An Ethnological Note on the "Whisky Jack"* (The Ottawa Naturalist, Dec., 1918, no. 6, pp. 116-117).

—— —— *A Flood legend of the Nootka Indians of Vancouver Island* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, April-June, 1919, No. 124, pp. 351-355).

The first two series of Indian tales were recently recorded in the course of explorations carried on, the first, under the auspices of the Anthropological Division, the second, under those of the American Museum of Natural History, of New York. Mr. Teit's valuable and fairly extensive materials are from a Northern Athapascan tribe of the interior of Alaska which had not yet been the object of serious study. Many references to myths and tales of neighbouring tribes, added by Dr. Boas, will greatly help in further comparative work.

The Ojibwa data of Mr. Skinner were recorded in Manitoba; they represent "a transitional stage between plains and forest culture". We regret that, in the case of such records, the author should have neglected to avail himself of his informant's memory and trace as far as possible his narrative to its remembered origin, that is, by whom it was first recited, as far as known. Such queries, in other fields, have often brought out interesting indications, particularly in the case of recent borrowing from a foreign tribe.

BARBEAU, C. M. *The Field of European Folk-Lore in America* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, April-June, 1919, no. 124, pp. 185-197).

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. and BARBEAU, C. M. *Chants populaires du Canada (Première série)* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Jan.-March, 1919, no. 123, pp. 89).

BOLDUC, EVELYN; TREMBLAY, MALVINA; BARBEAU, C. M. *Contes populaires canadiens (Troisième série)* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Jan.-March, 1919, no. 123, pp. 90-167).

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Croyances et dictons populaires des environs de Trois-Rivières* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Jan.-March, 1919, no. 123, pp. 168-175).

—— —— *Les remèdes d'autrefois* (The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Jan.-March, 1919, no. 123, pp. 176-178).

—— —— *La raquette* (L'almanach du Peuple, de la Librairie Beauchemin, 1920, pp. 285-290).

BARBEAU, C. M. *Les trésors enfouis, d'après la tradition canadienne* (L'Almanach du Peuple, de la Librairie Beauchemin, 1920, pp. 308-314).

The first paper listed deals in a general way with the advisability of undertaking more systematic surveys of several neglected avenues of European folk-lore in America—namely the English, the French, the Gaelic, and other—and it takes up

the question of method and opportunities.

The other contributions are limited to various French folk-lore data recently amassed in Canada and forming part of the vast collections now in the keeping of the Anthropological Division.

SPECK, FRANK G. *Kinship Terms and Family Band among the Northeastern Algonkian* (American Anthropologist, April-June, 1918, pp. 143-161).

SAPIR, E. *Kinship terms of the Kootenay Indians* (American Anthropologist, Oct.-Dec., 1918, pp. 414-418).

REAGAN, A. B. and WAUGH, F. W. *Some games of the Bois Fort Ojibwa* (American Anthropologist, July-Sept., 1919, pp. 264-278).

HAEBERLIN, H. K. *A Shamanistic Performance of the Coast Salish* (American Anthropologist, July-Sept., 1918, pp. 249-257).

NEWCOMBE, C. F. *The McGill totem pole* (The Ottawa Naturalist, Dec. 1918, no. 6, pp. 99-103).

Terms and systems of kinship among the various races of the world, often discussed by anthropologists, form to a certain degree an indication of ancient social institutions that have disappeared and are discernible only by means of survivals. They are also markedly useful to the linguist. For such reasons, several American scholars, Dr. Sapir in particular, have in the past few years made an attempt to record as completely as possible the many kinship systems and terminologies in use among the North American Indians. While Dr. Sapir's article is strictly confined to Kootenay data, Dr. Speck's are from a wider sphere and thereby invited parallels and discussion. Mr. Ragan's manuscript of Ojibwa games, purchased in 1912 by the Anthropological Division, has been prepared and published by Mr. F. W. Waugh. Together with its illustrations, it constitutes a useful description of the bowl, the mocassin, the children's dice, the snow-snake, the snow stick, the lacrosse, the shinney and the double-ball games, all of which were well-known over considerable areas in North America.

SHOTRIDGE, LOUIS. 1. *A visit to the Tsimshian Indians.* 2. *A visit to the Tsimshian Indians; the Skeena River.* 3. *War helmets and Clan hats of the Tlingit Indians* (The Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania, June 1919, nos. 1 and 2, pp. 49-67; Sept. 1919, no. 3, pp. 117-148; March-June, 1919, nos. 1 and 2, pp. 43-48).

These three interesting articles were written by Mr. Shotridge, a "civilized" Chilkat Indian, for some years connected with the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Remarkable photographs, some of which are coloured, accompany the text. In the first two numbers, the author narrates his observations in the course of a flying visit to the Tsimshians of the West Coast and the Skeena River. Although he displays more acumen in a subject akin to his mind than most white observers would, his contributions remain discursive and semi-popular in character. The article on headdresses contains brief descriptions of Tlingit family crests collected by the author, who, curiously enough, seems to accept myths and kindred narratives as strict historical accounts.

HAYWARD, VICTORIA. *The Indians of Alert Bay* (Canadian Magazine, Sept., 1918, pp. 371-382).

Many interesting photographs illustrating the art and life of the Kwakiutl natives of Alert Bay, on the Northwest Coast, are here accompanied by observations that are decidedly amateurish or even incorrect.

SMITH, H. I. *The archaeological value of prehistoric human bones* (The Ottawa Naturalist, March, 1919, no. 9, pp. 164-166).

WINTEMBERG, W. J. *Archaeology as an aid to zoology* (The Canadian Field-Naturalist,

Oct., 1919, no. 4, pp. 63-72).

While the first article briefly explains to the general reader the purpose of collecting human skeletal remains for anthropological studies, the second indicates, by means of examples collected in Ontario, how the archaeologist may, in his field research, observe animal remains that will enable the zoologist to determine the prehistoric diffusion of some definite species.

MACMILLAN, CYRUS. *Canadian Wonder Tales.* With Illustrations in colour by George Sheringham, and a foreword by Sir William Peterson. London: John Lane. 1918. Pp. 199.

Popular readers of fairy tales will undoubtedly welcome this interesting publication by Dr. MacMillan, a professor of English Literature at McGill University. Although it is somewhat out of place here to comment upon a work that pertains to literature rather than to science, we should not be surprised if at least some of the author's narratives were elsewhere available for scientific purposes. The reader, however, is neither explicitly informed of what tales are French and what are Indian, nor is he apt to distinguish what is original from what has been borrowed from different sources. He should not attach too strict a meaning to the words of Sir William Peterson in his "Foreword" when he says that the stories were taken down (presumably by the author) from the lips of living people. Folk-tales of course are eminently fit for artistic and literary treatment, and an author whose aim is not science should be free to follow the fancies of his imagination. We have a persistent feeling, however, that in Dr. MacMillan's book there might also be some points of scientific interest, and we regret not to have been somewhere informed of such data as are required to satisfy the legitimate curiosity of folk-lorists.

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The Canadian Historical Review

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE aim of this department of THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is to call attention to matters of interest and importance, in connection with Canadian history, which might otherwise escape notice. It frequently happens that events take place, discoveries are made, and controversies arise, in fields apparently remote from Canadian interests, which yet have profound significance for students of Canadian history, but which are not always brought to their attention, except by chance. The discovery of a prehistoric skeleton in New York State may throw light on the problem of prehistoric man in Canada; a Norse runestone, found embedded in the roots of an ancient tree in Minnesota, might, if authentic, clarify the question of the Norse visits to Canada in the Middle Ages; a map rescued from an old German castle may revolutionize the study of early Canadian cartography; an isolated document unearthed in the Spanish archives at Madrid may prove to be an important contribution to the history of the early voyages of discovery to Canada; a leaden plate discovered by children at play near a small town in Dakota may settle an important point in connection with French exploration in the West; political changes may take place in Australia or South Africa which bear directly on the problems of Canadian government to-day; and controversies may arise in the field of political or economic science which have an especial interest and applicability for Canadians. It is conceived that a useful service may be rendered by calling such matters to the attention of readers here.

A good example of a controversy in the field of political science, the significance of which in relation to Canada has not been widely recognized, is that which has arisen lately over the question of nationalism. This controversy is not, of course, entirely new. It dates back to the days of Lord Acton and John Stuart Mill, when the phenomenon of nationalism was first attracting the attention of political thinkers. Lord Acton, in his essay on *Nationality*, condemned what he called the theory of nationality—the theory, that is, that political and national lines should coincide—as "more absurd and more criminal than the theory of Socialism". He described it as "a confutation of democracy because it sets limits to the exercise of the popular will, and substitutes for it a higher principle". Mill, on the other hand, laid it down, in his *Representative Government*, that "it is in general a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities".

It has been, however, only during and since the Great War that the controversy has reached an acute stage. The controversy has revealed itself in various ways. It is to be seen in the cleavage of opinion between the nationalists and the internationalists—between those, like Gabriele d'Annunzio, Jan Paderewski, Eamonn de Valera, and Henri Bourassa (all, it should be noted, persons of a literary or artistic temperament), who seem to regard the nation-state as the *summum bonum*, and those who, like Nicolas Lenin and Ramsay MacDonald, regard nationalism as a crime against civilization, and who look forward to the parliament of the workingman, the federation of the labour world. It was seen in the struggle at the Peace Conference between the simon-pure nationalists, who subscribed to the doctrine of national self-determination, and who believed that the map of Europe should be reconstructed along what President Wilson—with a guilelessness remarkable in a former professor of history—described in the Fourteen Points as "historically established lines of allegiance and nationality", and the *étatistes* and regionalists, who believed that there were other things beside national aspirations that "must be respected". It is seen, finally, in a flood of literature with regard to the question of nationalism that has poured from the presses of Europe and America during the last few years. To give an adequate idea of this literature one would have to compile a bibliographical study which would be out of place here; but an idea of the two con-

flicting points of view may be gathered from two recent books by distinguished English political writers, Professor Ramsay Muir's *Nationalism and Internationalism* (1916) and Mr. Alfred E. Zimmern's *Nationality and Government* (1919). Professor Ramsay Muir, treading in the footsteps of John Stuart Mill, expresses the opinion that "if the whole of Europe could once be completely and satisfactorily divided on national lines, there might be good hope of a cessation of strife". Mr. Zimmern, following Lord Acton, denounces the theory of the nation-state as "one of the chief obstacles to human progress at the present time"; and, in a striking passage, he indicates his substitute for political nationalism:

> It is not the principle of nationality, as so many English people think, which will bring peace and good government to Macedonia and Eastern Europe generally, but the principle of toleration. It took Western Europe several generations after the Thirty Years' War to realize that religion, being subjective, was no satisfactory criterion of Statehood. . . . It may take Eastern Europe as long to reach the same conclusion about Nationality. But in the long run the theory of the National State will go the way of Henry VIII.'s and Luther's theory of a National Church.

It is safe to say that this controversy has received comparatively little attention in Canada. Yet it has for Canadians an almost poignant interest. If the arguments of the extreme nationalists are to be admitted, then French Canada should be allowed, if she so desires, to withdraw from Confederation, and set herself up as a separate and independent state, astride the mouth of the St. Lawrence waterway. But if, on the other hand, the arguments of Lord Acton and Mr. Zimmern are sound, then there should be room in Canada for more than one type of national feeling, and emphasis should be laid, not on the principle of nationality, but on the principle of toleration. In this case, the French and English in Canada would have a super-national feeling, and Canada would be, like the British Empire, a microcosm of the League of Nations. Moreover, the recent inclusion of Canada in the League of Nations, and her acquisition of a "national status", should make it incumbent on Canadians to inquire what nationalism is, and whither it leads.

Another controversy of interest to students of Canadian history, though in a widely different way, has lately been running its course in the pages of that excellent French-Canadian journal,

Le Canada Français. This controversy began with a paper by Mr. A. H. de Trémaudan, the author of *The Hudson Bay Road*, in which the view was advanced that serious errors had commonly been made by Canadian historians with regard to the identity of the various sons of the elder La Vérendrye. Mr. de Trémaudan maintained that the most famous of all the sons of the discoverer, the son referred to as "le chevalier", was not, as has been commonly supposed, the eldest son, Pierre, but the third son, François; that the journeys of 1738-1739 and of 1742-1743 were made, not by Pierre and François, but by François and Louis; and that only the journey of 1741, the least important of the three, was made by Pierre. This paper drew forth a reply from the abbé Ivanhoë Caron, one of the most erudite of French-Canadian historical scholars, who agreed with Mr. de Trémaudan that "le chevalier" was not the eldest son, Pierre de la Vérendrye, but contended that he was the youngest son, Louis-Joseph, rather than the third son, François. To this criticism Mr. de Trémaudan replied at length; Judge Prud'homme corrected the abbé Caron in one or two matters of detail; and Mr. P. G. Roy, the veteran editor of the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, came to the support of the abbé in regard to the main point in dispute.

We hope, in our next issue, to be able to publish a paper by Mr. de Trémaudan, in which the whole controversy will be summed up. In the meantime, the very fact that such a controversy as this, involving the identity of some of the most famous figures in the history of Canadian exploration, could arise at this late date, throws a light on the insecure foundations on which the traditionally accepted version of Canadian history is here and there built. It suggests the possibility that there may yet be found necessary a revision of some of the details of Canadian history more radical than most people would have suspected.

Historical revisions are seldom popular. Few people like to be told that Wolfe did not recite the lines from Gray's *Elegy* as he floated down to the Foulon on the night before the battle of the Plains of Abraham, or that Brock did not say, as he fell at Queenston Heights, "Push on, brave York Volunteers". These hoary myths, though repeatedly discredited, still display an astonishing vitality. Yet if Sir Robert Walpole's reproach "Anything but history, for history must be false", is to be removed, the accepted version of history must be constantly

revised, and kept up to date, in the light of recent researches, without regard for cherished preconceptions or for the picturesqueness of the discarded details.

An illustration of the necessity for revision in Canadian history will be found in Mr. William Smith's paper, printed in this issue, on *The Struggle over the Laws of Canada, 1763-1783*. The view has long been held that in the struggle between Sir Guy Carleton and Chief Justice Livius over the interpretation of the policy of the Quebec Act, Carleton was right, and Livius was wrong. Carleton is still widely regarded as the great and wise pro-consul, and Livius still looms up as the villain of the piece. The verdict of Carleton on him, that he was "greedy of power and more greedy of gain", and that he understood "neither the laws, customs, manners, nor language of the Canadian people", has hitherto held the field. It is safe to say that Mr. Smith's researches, whether one agrees with all his conclusions or not, will compel a considerable revision of the traditional version of this phase of Canadian history. Not only does Mr. Smith's paper throw new light on the characters of Carleton and Livius, but it throws into relief fresh aspects of the policy of the Quebec Act itself.

THE GROWTH OF CANADIAN NATIONAL FEELING

"I see in the not remote distance one great nationality, bound, like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of Ocean".—THOMAS D'ARCY MCGEE, Speech in the Legislative Assembly of Canada, 1862.

THE growth of Canadian national feeling might reasonably be regarded as the central fact in Canadian history. Yet, apart from a pamphlet entitled *Canadian Nationality, its Growth and Development*, published by William Canniff, the historian of Upper Canada, as long ago as 1875, there has been hitherto—so far as would appear—no attempt to trace in a connected way the process whereby Canadian national feeling has grown to be what it is to-day. The historians of Canada have been legion, but, curiously enough, few of them have thought it worth while to lay stress on this cardinal aspect of Canadian history; and where they have touched on it, they have done so invariably in a casual and incidental way. They have described fully the military campaigns, the political changes, the boundary disputes, the economic and intellectual developments; but they have said little about the main fact which these details merely serve to explain and illustrate—the growth in Canada of a distinctive national feeling.

One of the chief reasons for this neglect is, no doubt, the fact —of which Canadians nowadays are apt to be forgetful—that Canadian national feeling is a phenomenon of very recent growth. Certainly its recognition has not been of long standing. As recently as the Confederation epoch, there were many able and distinguished men in Canada who refused to recognize the existence of what was called at that time "the new nationality". In the Confederation debates there is nothing more curious and striking than the language in which Christopher Dunkin, perhaps the ablest and most cogent of all the opponents of Confederation, denied even the possibility of a Canadian national feeling. He said:

> Talk, indeed, in such a state of things, of your founding here by this means "a new nationality"—of your creating such a thing—of your whole people here rallying round its new government at Ottawa. Mr. Speaker, is such a thing possible? We have a large class whose national feelings turn towards London, whose very heart is there; another large class whose sympathies centre here at Quebec, or in a sentimental way may have some reference to Paris; another large class whose memories are of the Emerald Isle; and yet another whose comparisons are rather with Washington; but have we any class of people who are attached, or whose feelings are going to be directed with any earnestness, to the city of Ottawa, the centre of the new nationality that is to be created? In the times to come, when men shall begin to feel strongly on those questions which appeal to national preferences, prejudices and passions, all talk of your new nationality will sound but strangely.[1]

Later in the debate he used language even more scornful:

> But we—what are we doing? Creating a new nationality, according to the advocates of this scheme. I hardly know whether we are to take the phrase for ironical or not. Is it a reminder that in fact we have no sort of nationality about us, but are unpleasantly cut up into a lot of struggling nationalities, as between ourselves? Unlike the people of the United States, we are to have no foreign relations to look after, or national affairs of any kind; and therefore our new nationality, if we could create it, would be nothing but a name.[2]

Nor was it only among the opponents of Confederation that the dream of Canadian nationality was regarded as a chimaera. John Rose, afterwards the first finance minister of the Dominion went out of his way in the debates to make it clear that his constituents supported Confederation for practical reasons, and not "from any ardent and temporary impulse or vague aspiration to be part in name of a new nation".[3] Even among the most enthusiastic advocates of Confederation there was not one who did not speak of "the new nationality" in the future tense.

Still later evidence may be adduced. In 1872, W. A. Foster, one of the early apostles of Canadian nationalism, confessed that there were in Canada at that time many Canadians who were

[1] *Parliamentary Debates on the subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces*, 1865, p. 511.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 524.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 419.

void of national feeling. In his address entitled *Canada First*[1]—a document of cardinal importance in Canadian history—he quoted an English visitor as having said that "to the Canadian it is of small concern what you think of his country. He has little of patriotic pride in it himself. Whatever pride of country a Canadian has, its object, for the most part, is outside of Canada". Without subscribing unreservedly to this view, Foster admitted that there was some ground to justify a casual visitor in reaching such a conclusion. "We have too many among us," he said, "who are ever ready to worship a foreign Baal, to the neglect of their own tutelary gods." As late as 1889 Goldwin Smith, an observer who, whatever else may be said about him, was not hostile to the idea of Canadian nationality, scouted the view that such an ideal was within the range of possibility. "*The Bystander*," he wrote, "has the heartiest sympathy with those who strive to make Canada a nation. . . . But there is no use in attempting manifest impossibilities, and no impossibility apparently can be more manifest than that of fusing or even harmonizing a French and Papal with a British and Protestant community."[2]

Such were the views expressed a generation ago. To-day, however, he would be a bold man who would deny to Canada the existence of a distinctive national feeling—a national feeling not French-Canadian or British-Canadian, but all-Canadian. Since 1892 Canada has had her own national flag, the union ensign of Canada, the outward and visible sign of an inward and invisible unity. She has travelled so far along the road of autonomy that she is now on the point of creating the germ of a Canadian diplomatic service; and it is announced that she will soon have at Washington a diplomatic envoy of her own. In the Great War the maple leaf badge came to be recognized as the symbol of a strong national spirit which never failed before any task with which it was confronted, and which contributed in a substantial measure to the breaking down of the German defences in the latter half of 1918. Canada's war effort was distinctly a national effort, the extent and quality of which was determined by the national will; and the direct result of this effort has been that Canada has been assigned, not only a place in the Assembly of the League of Nations, but has been pronounced eligible for elec-

[1] Reprinted in *Canada First: A Memorial of the late William A. Foster, Q.C.*, Toronto, 1890.

[2] *The Bystander*, December, 1889, p. 78.

tion to the Council of the League. This means, if it means anything, that Canada has now not only achieved a national consciousness, but has won from the rest of the world—with the apparent exception of the United States—the recognition of this national consciousness.

It is the object of this essay to explain—if only in a tentative way—how this national feeling came into existence.

I. THE FIRST BEGINNINGS

In the beginning was geography. The influence of geography on Canadian history, and especially the influence of the Atlantic Ocean, has been at all stages profound; but in no way more so than in stimulating the growth of Canadian national feeling. Even in the period of French rule, the distance between the Old World and the New—a distance much greater in those days of sailing-ships than in these of steam-ships, trans-Atlantic cables, and wireless telegraphy—combined with the wide variance between the geographical conditions prevailing in the two continents to produce in Canada signs of a distinct local feeling. This local feeling did not reach in New France the height which it reached in the English colonies to the south, where it contributed to bring about the American Revolution; but toward the end of the French period it became much stronger than is sometimes realized. Ample evidence of it is to be found in the letters of Montcalm, those beautiful epistles which the devoted hero wrote home to his beloved Candiac. "I am extolled," he complains in one letter, written not long after his arrival in Canada, "in order to foster Canadian prejudice." The unhappy relations between Montcalm, the commander of the French regulars, and Vaudreuil, the Canadian-born governor, were reflected in the relations between the French and the Canadian officers of lesser rank. The Canadian captains of militia, most of them veterans of many a border foray and Indian battle, ranked junior to the youngest subaltern of the regular forces newly arrived from France, and perhaps without active service of any kind; and this fact alone served to excite a distinctive Canadian feeling.

After the British conquest, the influence of geography continued to operate among the French-Canadians, until in the beginning of the nineteenth century it bore fruit in the ideal of *la nation canadienne*. But among the English-speaking Canadians

its influence was for many years less noticeable. It is only among a native-born population that geographical factors find full play; and it was not until well on in the nineteenth century that there was any considerable native-born English-speaking population in Canada. By this time, however, distance was being annihilated by the steam-ship and the trans-Atlantic cable; and Quebec had become, humanly speaking, almost as near Westminster as some places, such as outlying parts of the Orkneys and the Hebrides, which were included in the United Kingdom. None the less, the influence of geography in the English period has continued profound. The whole movement toward Canadian autonomy—so closely intertwined with the growth of Canadian nationalism as to be almost indistinguishable from it—owes a large part of its success to the three thousand miles of sundering seas which separate Canada from Great Britain. If Great Britain has been willing to grant Home Rule to Canada, but not to Ireland, the reason in large measure lies upon the map. In the same way the growth of Canadian national feeling even to-day owes much to the barrier of the Atlantic—a barrier that has made it all but impossible for the overwhelming majority of native-born Canadians to see and know at first hand the country from which their stock has sprung. In a thousand ways, in matters of speech, and dress, and diet, and amusements, and even thought, Canadian national feeling is still being moulded from day to day by the stubborn facts of geography.

But geography alone will not serve to explain the growth of Canadian nationalism. It will not serve even to explain the political lines which Canadian nationalism has followed. The boundary between Canada and the United States, for example, cannot be referred to purely geographical causes. What chiefly determined the lines of the new nationality was a series of political events which took place in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The first of these, of course, was the Peace of Paris in 1763, which eliminated France from North America, and placed all the country between Hudson Bay and the Gulf of Mexico under the British flag. The second was the American Revolution, which removed from the sovereignty of Great Britain the thirteen original British colonies in America, and left the northern half of the continent open for a new experiment in colonial government—an experiment which was destined in the end to give full play to the forces of colonial nationalism. And the third event was the French Revolution, which severed the tie of sympathy binding the

French Canadians to France. These three events combined to fashion the mould of the nationality that was to be.

The first impetus to the growth of Canadian national feeling was given by the War of 1812. This war—in other respects one of the most futile and meaningless in history—had at any rate this result, that it gave birth in Canada to that feeling of self-reliance and self-respect without which no strong national spirit can well exist. In 1812 British North America found itself the innocent victim of an attack by a foreign country which sought to conquer it, a country with a vastly superior population, and with an army in which the enlistments during the war actually exceeded the total population of all the British colonies in North America; and yet three years later, after a prolonged struggle, the war ended with the Canadian frontier everywhere intact. However pacifists may lament the fact, there is no formula for the creation of nationalism so efficacious as a war such as this, waged against outside aggression under heavy odds. Scottish nationalism dates from the Scottish War of Independence; Italian nationalism from the Italian War of Liberation; and the nationalism of the United States from the War of the American Revolution. In the same way, the War of 1812—which might fittingly be termed the Canadian War of Independence—stands at the fountain-head of Canadian nationalism. It is a sound instinct which has led Canadians to cherish the memories of what were from the standpoint of the military historian the trivial skirmishes of Detroit and Queenston Heights, of Châteauguay and Chrystler's Farm; for these engagements are the title-deeds of Canadian nationality.

But this aspect of the War of 1812 does not exhaust its importance in fostering national feeling in Canada. Just as the American invasion of Canada in 1775 had resulted in purging Canada at that time of the disloyal and pro-American element in her population, so the War of 1812 resulted in removing from Canadian soil those who were at that time unsympathetic with Canadian ideals; and just as had been the case in 1775, so in 1812 the defence of their common country bound together with the bond of common sacrifices and common memories "the two races" in Canada, the English-Canadian and the French-Canadian. For the second time in half a century English and French in Canada had fought shoulder to shoulder against the southern invader; and it might well have seemed that a union begun so auspiciously, and sanctified so solemnly, would be proof against the shocks of time. In other

cases, in the case of Scotland, of Switzerland, and of Belgium, a war of national defence has welded into a coherent whole the most diverse racial and linguistic elements; and, especially in view of the very amicable relations that had existed between the English and the French in Canada during the first half-century of British rule, it might have been expected that a similar result would have ensued in Canada.

Such hopes, however, were to some extent doomed to disappointment. In the twenty-five years that followed 1812, there sprang up in Canada a political conflict which in Lower Canada transformed itself into a struggle between "the two races"—a struggle of such a character that when Lord Durham came to Canada in 1838 he professed to find "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state". The results of this quarrel, some of which are far from extinct to-day, cannot be too greatly deplored; nor is it well to attempt to minimize them. And yet, on the other hand, it is an even greater mistake to exaggerate them. When one considers the history of countries like Ireland, Poland, and the Balkans, where peoples similarly diverse in language, religion, and historical traditions have been placed in juxtaposition, one is forced to the conclusion that after all the French and the English in Canada have not got on badly together. The Rebellion of 1837 was the only occasion on which the two peoples have come into anything like armed conflict; and it was far from being a revolt of the whole of the French-Canadian people. It was limited to only one or two districts, and the whole weight of the French-Canadian church was thrown against it. It was, moreover, an accident, directly due to a faulty constitution, which forced the two peoples in Lower Canada into opposite camps, and gave each a weapon with which to smite the other. It is wrong, therefore, to regard the struggle of 1837 as having interposed an insuperable barrier against the growth of a common spirit between the English and the French in Canada. Even if it is admitted that the events which culminated in the Rebellion of 1837 have created two nationalisms in Canada, an English-Canadian and a French-Canadian, there is nothing in this fact to prevent the growth in Canada of what some modern writers have called a supernationalism, such as exists in Great Britain between the subordinate nationalisms of England, Scotland, and Wales. Indeed, as we shall see, there is ample evidence to show that such a supernationalism really exists in Canada to-day.

From another viewpoint, moreover, the Rebellion of 1837 actually contributed to the growth of Canadian national feeling, for it resulted in the grant to Canada of self-government. As Edward Blake pointed out in his famous Aurora speech of 1874, "It is impossible to foster a national spirit unless you have national interests to attend to." The growth of Canadian self-government, which began under Lord Sydenham in 1841, and which has been going on ever since, gave Canadians distinct national interests to attend to, and so encouraged the growth of a distinct national spirit. It led between 1841 and 1849 to the control by Canadians of their own domestic affairs; it led between 1849 and 1859 to Canada's fiscal independence of the Mother Country; and it is leading in our own day to a degree of political autonomy which is practically complete. It is true that in the struggle for self-government the element of nationalism did not at first appear on the surface, except perhaps in Lower Canada. The paper in which William Lyon Mackenzie carried on his political agitation was frankly named *The Colonial Advocate*. Yet even in the early Reformers the yeast of nationalism was no doubt working unseen. The very fact of the struggle for self-government was in itself an evidence of the inarticulate growth of a national consciousness. The infant, as yet unborn, was stirring within the womb.

II. NATIONAL UNITY.

The greatest single factor in the growth of Canadian national feeling has been no doubt the movement toward national unity, or, as it is more commonly described in Canada, the movement toward Confederation: a movement which was crowned with success between the years 1867 and 1873, and which, curiously enough, virtually synchronized with the national unification of Germany and Italy. The idea of the Confederation of the British North American provinces dates far back in Canadian history. It was first advocated by a British engineer officer, Lieut.-Col. Robert Morse, as early as 1784, immediately after the close of the American Revolution.[1] It was urged on the British government by Lord Dorchester and by Chief Justice William Smith in 1790, when the details of the Constitutional Act were under considera-

[1] Can. Arch. Report, 1884, p. liii.

tion. It became popular among a number of the United Empire Loyalists; and in the twenties of last century it found advocates in persons so different as William Lyon Mackenzie and the Rev. John Strachan. But none of these early advocates of Confederation appear to have thought of the project in terms of nationalism. It is not until we come to Lord Durham's *Report on the Affairs of British North America*—that classic of English political literature —that we find the relation between national unity and the growth of national feeling clearly pointed out.

Lord Durham, in recommending the union of Upper and Lower Canada, insisted at the same time—and this fact is too often forgotten—that the Act of Union should contain a provision whereby "any or all of the other North American colonies may, on the application of the Legislature, be, with the consent of the two Canadas, or their united Legislature, admitted into the union on such terms as may be agreed between them". He regarded, in fact, the union of Upper and Lower Canada as merely a half-way house on the road to Confederation. And the bearing of Confederation on the growth of colonial nationalism he was quick to discern:

> Such an union would at once decisively settle the question of races; it would enable all the Provinces to co-operate for all common purposes; and, above all, it would form a great and powerful people, possessing the means of securing good and responsible government for itself, and which, under the protection of the British Empire, might in some measure counterbalance the preponderant and increasing influence of the United States on the American continent. . . . I am, in truth, so far from believing that the increased power and weight that would be given to these colonies by union would endanger their connection with the Empire, that I look to it as the only means of fostering such a national feeling throughout them as would effectually counterbalance whatever tendencies may now exist toward separation.[1]

After describing the pro-American influences then at work in Canada he went on:

> If we wish to prevent the extension of this influence, it can only be done by raising up for the North American colonist some nationality of his own; by elevating these small and unimportant com-

[1] Lucas (ed.), *Lord Durham's Report*, vol. ii, p. 309.

> munities into a society having some objects of a national importance; and by thus giving their inhabitants a country which they will be unwilling to see absorbed even into one more powerful.[1]

In these words we have, it would appear, the first clear enunciation of a nationalist programme for Canadians. It is true, no doubt, that Lord Durham's version of Canadian nationalism was too limited, too exclusively English—that it did not give to the French Canadians the place to which they were entitled in the new nationality. But Lord Durham's title to the honour of being the first exponent of the principle of nationalism in Canada is indisputable. Here, as elsewhere, he stands at the head of a long process of development in Canadian history.

The ideal of Confederation, as Durham himself had feared, was not destined to become immediately practicable. The union of Upper and Lower Canada was brought about in 1841; but in the other provinces sectional feeling was still too strong, and between them the means of communication were still too slight, to permit of Confederation being achieved. It was not indeed until long after Durham's day that the idea invaded the sphere of practical politics. In 1849 it appeared as a plank in the platform of the British American League, an association formed partly for the purpose of rehabilitating the shattered fortunes of the Tory party. In 1854 Joseph Howe, in his famous speech on "The Organization of the Empire", discussed the idea at some length, and admitted that "there would be great advantages arising from a union of these colonies". In 1858 several events combined to bring the project into the public eye. In the first place, A. T. Galt, the Canadian finance minister who successfully vindicated the fiscal independence of Canada, and whose protectionist ideas were merely the expression in the economic sphere of his nationalist aspirations, entered the Macdonald-Cartier administration in that year on the understanding that Confederation would be made a feature of the government's programme; and a delegation composed of Galt, Cartier, and Rose was actually sent to England that autumn with a view to ascertaining the views of the British government with regard to Confederation—though unfortunately, thanks to the apathetic immobility of the British government, the delegation resulted in nothing. In the second

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 311.

place, it was in this year that Alexander Morris—a statesman whose fame has fled all too soon—published his lecture on *Nova Britannia; or, The Consolidation of the British North American Provinces*; and lastly, it was in this year that there came into the Canadian legislature a young Irish patriot, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, with whose name, more perhaps than with any other, the vision of the new Dominion was destined to be associated. In a short-lived journal which he had founded in Montreal in 1857, and which bore the significant name of *The New Era*, McGee had already embraced the gospel of British-American union; and this gospel he did not cease to preach, in season and out of season, with all the rare genius and eloquence at his command, until it came true.

In the writings and speeches of McGee, Morris and their friends, there now appeared, for the first time in Canadian history, a strong nationalist note. Morris, in the peroration of his *Nova Britannia*, urged his hearers to "cherish and promote by all means the spread of national sentiment"; and McGee, in one of the early numbers of his *New Era*, struck out a phrase—"The New Nationality"—which was destined to become historic. Trained in the vivid school of Irish nationalism, McGee merely transferred to Canadian soil his nationalist aspirations. To give an adequate idea of the crusade which McGee carried out, is impossible in a sketch of this sort; but two or three extracts from his speeches may be quoted in order to illustrate the character of his propaganda. Speaking in the Canadian legislature in 1860 on the constitutional relations of Upper and Lower Canada, he was reported to have spoken thus:

> We had advanced a certain way on the road to nationality, and all the power of the Legislature could not stop it, though it might retard it. He looked forward to the day when we should be known not as Upper and Lower Canadians, Nova Scotians, or New Brunswickians, but as members of a nation designated as the Six United Provinces.[1]

In 1862, in a speech delivered at a popular festival in Quebec, he spoke thus:

> A Canadian nationality—not French-Canadian, nor British-Canadian, nor Irish-Canadian: patriotism rejects the prefix—is, in my opinion, what we should look forward to, that is what we

[1] Thompson's *Mirror of Parliament*, 1860, No. 38, p. 3.

ought to labour for, that is what we ought to be prepared to defend to the death.[1]

He even carried the fiery cross down into the Maritime Provinces. In an address delivered in Halifax in 1863, he took as his theme "a future, possible, probable, and I hope to be able to live to say positive, British-Canadian Nationality":

> What do we need to construct such a nationality? Territory, resources by land and sea, civil and religious freedom, these we have already. Four millions we already are: four millions culled from races that, for a thousand years, have led the van of Christendom. . . . Analyse our aggregate population: we have more Saxons than Alfred had when he founded the English realm. We have more Celts than Brien had when he put his heel on the neck of Odin. We have more Normans than William had when he marshalled his invading host along the strand of Falaise. We have the laws of St. Edward and St. Louis, Magna Charta and the Roman Code. We speak the speeches of Shakespeare and Bossuet. We copy the constitution which Burke and Somers and Sidney and Sir Thomas More lived, or died, to secure or save. Out of these august elements, in the name of the future generations who shall inhabit all the vast regions we now call ours, I invoke the fortunate genius of a United British America.[2]

D'Arcy McGee was, in truth, the Mazzini of Canadian national unity; and by his fervent appeals to the younger generation of Canadians he gathered about him a rising nationalist school, a party of Young Canada.

D'Arcy McGee's place in Canadian history has seldom been adequately recognized. Much has been written about the part played by John A. Macdonald and George Brown in the Confederation movement, and about the self-sacrificing way in which these two political leaders sank their personal differences in order to bring Confederation about. But the part they played was no more important than that played by McGee. Nor was their self-abnegation to be mentioned in the same breath as his; for, when difficulties arose after Confederation in connection with the formation of the first Dominion cabinet, McGee, who was regarded as the representative of the Roman Catholic English-speaking

[1] T. D'Arcy McGee, *Speeches and Addresses chiefly on the subject of British-American Union*, p. 63.

[2] *The Honorable Thomas D'Arcy McGee of Montreal* (pamphlet, n.d.), p. 21.

element in the province of Quebec, stood aside, in order that the claims of the English-speaking Roman Catholics might be combined with those of the Nova Scotians, in the appointment of a compromise candidate whose name is now forgotten. When, therefore, the first parliament of the new Dominion met in Ottawa in 1868, the high priest of Canadian nationalism—the Fenian journalist who more than any one else had taught Canadians to be at one with themselves—was a private member of the house. This fact, and the fact that in 1869 McGee's career was cut short by the hand of the assassin, serve perhaps to explain the neglect into which his fame has fallen. That there were those in his own generation, however, who understood the significance of his brief but meteoric passage through Canadian history, is evident from the words in which in 1872 the author of *Canada First* paid tribute to his memory:

> There is a name I would fain approach with befitting reverence, for it casts athwart memory the shadow of all those qualities that man admires in man. It tells of one in whom the generous enthusiasm of youth was but mellowed by the experience of cultured manhood; of one who lavished the warm love of an Irish heart on the land of his birth, yet gave a loyal and true affection to the land of his adoption; who strove with all the power of genius to convert the stagnant pool of politics into a stream of living water; who dared to be national in the face of provincial selfishness, and impartially liberal in the teeth of sectarian strife; who from Halifax to Sandwich sowed broadcast the seeds of a higher national life, and with persuasive eloquence drew us closer together as a people, pointing out to each what was good in the other, wreathing our sympathies and blending our hopes; yes! one who breathed into our New Dominion the spirit of a proud self-reliance, and first taught Canadians to respect themselves. Was it a wonder that a cry of agony rang throughout the land when murder, foul and most unnatural, drank the life-blood of Thomas D'Arcy McGee?[1]

Among the documents illustrating the growth of Canadian nationalism, there is none of greater interest or importance than the record of the debates which took place on Confederation in the Canadian legislature in 1865. In these debates there were those, like Christopher Dunkin, who refused, as we have seen, to believe not only in the existence, but even in the possibility of an

[1] *Canada First: A Memorial*, p. 42.

all-Canadian national feeling. Even among the partisans of Confederation, there were comparatively few who seem to have thought of Confederation in terms of nationalism. John A. Macdonald spoke of it as "founding a great nation", and he prophecied that under Confederation "England will have in us a friendly nation"; but these references, true as they were to the coming event, were hardly more than incidental. In the speeches of George Brown, Alexander Mackenzie, and even—strange as it may seem—A. T. Galt, there is hardly anything which can be construed as a nationalist confession of faith. Apart from McGee, Morris, and one or two other nationalists, the only outstanding figure in the house who dealt at length with the nationalistic aspect of Confederation was Georges-Etienne Cartier; and Cartier's defence of the doctrine of "the new nationality"—a phrase which had been incorporated in the Speech from the Throne—was so sound and salutary, so in line with the most recent results of modern thought, so full of lessons for Canadians to-day, that it is worth while quoting at length:

> The question for us to ask ourselves was this: Shall we be content to remain separate—shall we be content to maintain a mere provincial existence, when, by combining together, we could become a great nation? . . . Objection had been taken to the scheme now under consideration, because of the words "new nationality". Now, when we were united together, if union were attained, we would form a political nationality with which neither the national origin, nor the religion of any individual would interfere. It was lamented by some that we had this diversity of races, and hopes were expressed that this distinctive feature would cease. The idea of unity of races was utopian—it was impossible. Distinctions of this kind would always exist. . . . But with regard to the objection based on this fact, to the effect that a great nation could not be formed because Lower Canada was in great part French and Catholic, and Upper Canada was British and Protestant, and the Lower Provinces were mixed, it was futile and worthless in the extreme. Look, for instance, at the United Kingdom, inhabited as it was by three great races. (Hear, hear.) Had the diversity of race impeded the glory, the wealth, the progress of England? Had they not rather each contributed their share to the greatness of the Empire? Of the glories of the senate, the field, and the ocean, of the successes of trade and commerce, how much was contributed by the combined talents, energy and courage of the three races

> together? (Cheers.) In our own Federation we should have Catholic and Protestant, English, French, Irish, Scotch, and each by his efforts and his success would increase the prosperity and glory of the new Confederacy. (Hear, hear.) He viewed the diversity of races in British North America in this way: we were of different races, not for the purpose of warring against each other, but in order to compete and emulate for the general welfare. (Cheers.) We could not do away with the distinctions of race. We could not legislate for the disappearance of the French Canadians from American soil, but British and French Canadians could appreciate and understand their position relative to each other. They were placed like great families beside each other, and their contact produced a healthy spirit of emulation. It was a benefit rather than otherwise that we had a diversity of races.[1]

In these striking words Cartier pinned his faith to the doctrine of an all-Canadian nationalism, and implicitly disowned the ideal of an *intransigeant* French-Canadian nationalism, the advocates of which he described as "self-styled nationalists". That he, the French-Canadian leader of the house, should have been the first among the leading politicians of that day to embrace wholeheartedly the idea of "the new nationality", and that he should have given that idea such a sound philosophical basis, is a fact which English Canadians to-day might do well to ponder.

The Confederation of Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia was accomplished in 1867. But this was only the first instalment of Confederation. Within the surprisingly short space of four years, the new Dominion extended itself westward to the Pacific. In 1869 it acquired by purchase the vast territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1871 the colony of British Columbia came into Confederation. This westward extension of Canada, even more than the original Confederation, was a factor of profound importance in stimulating the growth of Canadian national feeling. The Great North West was Canada's heritage. It had been originally explored and occupied by Canadian fur-traders and officials in the days of the French régime; and it had been at that time, to all intents and purposes, part of Canada. As Alexander Morris pointed out in the Canadian parliament in 1867, "Canada was bound to the North-West by the ties of discovery, possession, and interest. . . .

[1] *Parliamentary Debates on the subject of Confederation*, p. 60.

The country is ours by right of inheritance." The North-West was, in fact, a sort of *Canada Irredenta*, to the redemption of which the Canadian nationalists of those days looked forward as to the goal of their aspirations. More than this, however, the North-West was a land of promise, the possibilities of which captivated the imagination. It was there that the listener could hear

> the tread of pioneers,
> Of nations yet to be,
> The first low wash of waves, where soon
> Shall roll a human sea.

The way in which the acquisition of the North-West set on fire the minds of the nationalists of the Confederation epoch is well illustrated in the lecture on *The Hudson's Bay and Pacific Territories*,[1] which Alexander Morris delivered and published in 1858—a lecture which occupies in the literature of Canadian nationalism a place of scarcely less importance than his *Nova Britannia*. "Our Northern rising nationality," he exclaimed, *à propos* of the West, "has an example field before it—a brilliant future in the distance." And in his peroration he asked:

> Who can doubt of the future of these British Provinces, or of the entire and palpable reality of that vision which rises so grandly before us of the Great British Empire of the North . . . with its face to the south and its back to the pole, with its right and left resting on the Atlantic and the Pacific, and with the telegraph and the iron road connecting the two oceans.

Canadian nationalism differs from the nationalisms of the Old World in this, that while they draw their inspiration largely from the past, it draws its inspiration mainly from the future. Writers on nationalism, with their eyes fixed on Old World conditions, have laid great stress on common language, common religion, and common historical traditions as factors in nationalism, and they have as a rule ignored the factor of common hopes for the future. Yet this is one of the most important elements in New World nationalism. And if this is so, if Canadian national feeling has its eyes set on the mountain-tops of promise, rather than on the valleys of achievement, the fact is in large measure due to the vista of possibilities opened up by Confederation, and especially by that crowning phase of Confederation, the acquisition of the Great West.

[1] Reprinted in Morris, *Nova Britannia*.

III. THE CANADA FIRST MOVEMENT.

Confederation was hardly completed when there sprang up in Canada an organized movement of an avowedly nationalist character. This movement—known from its motto as "Canada First"—made only a brief attempt to invade the arena of party politics, and it left no lasting impress on Canadian political history. For this reason it has received scant attention at the hands of most Canadian historians. Yet it was a movement of profound significance in Canadian history; and certainly in any account of the growth of Canadian national feeling, it must occupy a place of primary importance.

Canada First had its origin in the chance meeting in Ottawa in the spring of 1868 of five young men.[1] These five, all of whom were native Canadians, and only one of whom was over thirty years of age, were Henry J. Morgan, the writer; Charles Mair, the poet; Robert J. Haliburton, the eldest son of the author of *Sam Slick*; George T. Denison, a member of an old United Empire Loyalist family; and W. A. Foster, a Toronto barrister, with whose name more perhaps than with any other the new movement came to be connected. Though they came from all parts of the Dominion the five men quickly became warm friends, and they fell into the habit of meeting frequently in Morgan's rooms to discuss the future of the new Confederation. They were all agreed on the necessity of fostering by all means possible a national spirit in Canada as the surest bond of unity which Canadians could have; and before they separated, they pledged one another that they would do all in their power to encourage the growth of national sentiment. Mair went soon afterwards to the North-West, whence he contributed to the Toronto *Globe* a series of articles intended to inspire Canadians with a sense of the greatness of their heritage. Haliburton went on tour through Ontario, Quebec, and his native Nova Scotia, lecturing on inter-provincial trade and other subjects having a bearing on national feeling; and Denison prepared a lecture on *The Duty of Canadians to Canada* which he delivered in many places throughout Ontario,

[1] The best first-hand account of the Canada First movement is to be found in Colonel George T. Denison's *The Struggle for Imperial Unity*, Toronto, 1909. Another account, less full, and from a different angle, will be found in Goldwin Smith's introduction to *Canada First: A Memorial of the late William A. Foster, Q.C.*, Toronto, 1890.

and even in Halifax, though here—it is interesting to note—under an altered title. Gradually new members were added to the little group—Schultz of Manitoba, Edgar of Toronto, and a few others—until it acquired the nickname of "The Twelve Apostles".

In 1870 the group, feeling the need for some definite organization, which would yet be non-political in character, formed the North-West Emigration Aid Society. This society became a sort of stalking-horse for what now came to be known among its members as the "Canada First" party. The name "Canada First" seems to have originated with Edgar and Denison; Edgar suggested as the motto for the Twelve Apostles, "Canada before all, or Canada first of all", and Denison seized on the phrase, "Canada First". But the name did not obtain general currency until the publication in 1871 of Foster's now famous lecture entitled *Canada First; or, Our New Nationality*. Foster, who was of a retiring disposition, had hitherto limited his efforts to occasional contributions to the Toronto *Telegraph*; but at the request of his friends he at last undertook to prepare and deliver this public lecture. The lecture was published first in the Toronto *Globe*, and afterwards it was issued as a separate brochure, and from the outset it attracted widespread attention. Read in cold blood to-day, it may seem, as Goldwin Smith said, to belong "to the heyday of Confederation and of youth", but its effect at the time was great. It embodied in passionate phrases a growing sentiment, it gave coherent shape to a floating idea, and it provided the Canadian nationalists with a rallying-point.

The first part of Foster's lecture was devoted to an eloquent survey of Canadian history, with a view to showing that the achievements of Canadians had been such as any people might take pride in. Lest, however, Canadians might vaunt themselves unduly, they were reminded that Canada was still spoken of slightingly in the outside world. "The normal Old World idea respecting us and our country resolves itself into huge pictures in which frost and snow, falling timber, snow-shoes, furs, and wild Indians are the most prominent, if not the only, objects of vision." For years, moreover, British policy had "isolated the Provinces to prevent their absorption in the neighbouring Republic, and in so doing stunted the growth of a native national sentiment". Consequently, even among Canadians themselves there were those who had little confidence in the future of their country. "There are too many Cassandras in our midst; too many who whimper over our supposed weakness and exaggerate others'

supposed strength." What was needed was the encouragement of a strong national spirit. "Unless we intend to be hewers of wood and drawers of water until the end, we should in right earnest set about strengthening the foundations of our identity." That there were difficulties in the way was not denied. "There are asperities of race, of creed, of interest to be allayed, and a composite people to be rendered homogeneous." But the task of fusing and blending the diverse elements in Canada was pronounced to be less difficult than it seemed. All that was needed was "some common basis of agreement strong enough to counteract disintegrating tendencies"; and this common basis, it was affirmed, was to be found in an all-Canadian national feeling.

During the two or three years which followed the publication of Foster's address, it was frequently suggested that Canada First should organize itself as a definite political party. The wiser heads of the party, realizing that to do so would embroil them with the older political parties, preferred to exert an influence through less formal channels. It was, indeed, one of the earliest articles in the creed of Canada First that partyism was an evil, and that an attempt ought to be made to get back to the golden days

> When none was for a party,
> When all were for the State.

Gradually, however, the temptation to invade the political arena became too strong to be resisted. In the autumn of 1873, Thomas Moss, one of the Canada First men, was nominated as the Liberal candidate for the representation of West Toronto in the House of Commons, and though Canada First did not join his organization, it gave him its hearty support and held a meeting in his favour. At this meeting Foster spoke, and moved a resolution which openly advocated the formation of a "Canadian National party". The resolution was passed with enthusiasm, and it bore fruit a short time later, on January 6, 1874, in the formation of the Canadian National Association. The new association, which was avowedly political in character, included in its membership not only the original Canada First men, but also a large number of new associates. Foster, however, still remained the guiding spirit of the party. It was he, apparently, who drafted the platform of the National Association. This platform is, without question, one of the most interesting documents in Canadian political history, not only because it sum-

marizes the ideas of the Canada First party, but because of the uncanny way in which it anticipates the lines along which Canada was destined to develop. In its published form the platform ran as follows:

(1) British Connection, Consolidation of the Empire, and in the meantime a voice in treaties affecting Canada.

(2) Closer trade relations with the British West India Islands, with a view to ultimate political connection.

(3) Income Franchise.

(4) The Ballot, with the addition of compulsory voting.

(5) A Scheme for the Representation of Minorities.

(6) Encouragement of Immigration and Free Homesteads in the Public Domain.

(7) The imposition of duties for Revenue so adjusted as to afford every possible encouragement for Native Industry.

(8) An improved Militia System, under the command of trained Dominion officers.

(9) No Property Qualifications in Members of the House of Commons.

(10) The Reorganization of the Senate.

(11) Pure and Economic Administration of Public Affairs.

In this platform the first and eighth planks forecast important phases of the growth of Canadian autonomy; the sixth anticipates the immigration policy of the last quarter of a century; the seventh contains in germ the doctrine of the National Policy; and a number of others call for reforms which are being mooted to-day.

The entrance of Canada First into the sphere of practical politics at first promised well. Thomas Moss was elected for West Toronto, and the hopes of Canada First rose high. In 1874 the leaders of Canada First founded a weekly journal, significantly named *The Nation*, as the organ of their party, and they founded also the National Club in Toronto, in which it was intended that Canadians of all parties might meet together on a broad national basis. Finally, in 1874 Canada First found, or thought it found, a leader of the first rank in Edward Blake, whose reputation was at that time nearing its meridian. Blake had broken with Alexander Mackenzie and George Brown, and on October 3, 1874, he delivered at Aurora, Ontario, a speech[1]—

[1]Published, together with numerous press comments, as a pamphlet (Ottawa, 1874), under the title *A National Sentiment.*

still famous as "the Aurora speech"—which aligned him unmistakably with the party of Canada First. The Aurora speech was, indeed, little more than an amplification of the platform of the Canadian National Association. Blake preached the federation of the Empire, the reorganization of the Senate, compulsory voting, extension of the franchise, representation of minorities, and, above all, the cultivation of a national spirit. "The future of Canada, I believe," he said, "depends very largely upon the cultivation of a national spirit. We must find some common ground on which to unite, some common aspiration to be shared, and I think it can be alone found in the cultivation of that spirit."

The delight of Canada First, when Edward Blake thus put himself at its head, was unbounded. It seemed as though the party were on the eve of a great future. In an address before the Canadian National Association in February, 1875, Foster seems to have looked forward to the break-up of the old-line political parties. "When a matter of great importance is brought home to the minds of the people," he said, "the withes of party become as tow. This is our encouragement and the source of our hope."

But the hope was hollow. In the autumn of 1875, Edward Blake—his hot fit of insurgency having cooled off—went back into the Liberal camp, and again accepted office in the Mackenzie administration. The defection proved a sore blow to Canada First as a political party. It was as though the captain of the host had deserted in the face of the foe. The members of the party lost heart, and the party itself gradually broke up. At the end of 1875 *The Nation* ceased publication. The National Club became a purely social organization. The Canadian National Association disappeared from view. Foster, who had never loved the limelight, withdrew within the circle of professional and domestic life; and the other members of the party drifted off, some of them to follow strange gods, such as independence, or annexation, or imperial centralization.

The truth probably is that Canada First never had a real chance of life as a political party. So long as it remained an intellectual movement it was able to continue its work undisturbed, but once it entered the political battle-field it roused the jealousy and suspicion of the two older political parties, and so drew on itself a concentrated fire from two sides. The vitriolic vehemence with which the official organs of both the Liberal and Conservative parties attacked the political platform of Canada First is one of the most amusing things in Canadian political

history, especially in view of the fact that both these parties afterwards plundered the Canada First platform for most of their ideas. But in 1875 it was difficult for a nascent political party to meet this combined attack, and the more so since, by this time, divisions had begun to appear in the party itself. Some of the original members, such as Denison, had withdrawn when political action was decided on. Others interpreted the meaning of Canadian nationalism in different ways, some leaning towards nativism, others toward annexation or independence, others toward imperial unity. Consequently, Canada First as a political movement probably died a pre-ordained death. And this was, no doubt, fortunate, for the failure of Canada First as an organized party definitely eliminated the doctrine of nationalism from party politics in Canada. Had Canada First succeeded, it would have become in time a political party like any other; nationalism would have become the badge of a party rather than of the whole people; the common spirit would have become a contradiction of itself. As it was the influence of Canada First continued to operate in a purer and rarer atmosphere. The ideas which the Twelve Apostles had set out to preach to an unbelieving world have come in time to pervade the minds of all Canadians, to come to them as naturally as the air they breathe. As Charles Mair wrote in his lines in memory of Foster in 1888,

> The seed they sowed has sprung at last,
> And grows and blossoms through the land.

IV. NATIONAL AUTONOMY AND THE NATIONAL POLICY

To attempt to measure the growth of national feeling since the days of Canada First is impossible. There is no gauge for the things of the spirit. But that growth is written all over the political and economic history of Canada since 1875, and in particular it is seen in the development of Canadian autonomy within the Empire and in the triumph of the National Policy.

In 1874, in his Aurora speech, Edward Blake described Canadians as "four millions of Britons who are not free". Such language was perhaps open to the charge of exaggeration, and yet it contained an element of truth. There were still at that time very considerable limitations on Canadian self-government. In the field of foreign policy and international relations Canada was then all but voiceless. Even in regard to her domestic affairs her

autonomy was far from complete. She had no power to amend her written constitution. Her legislation even in domestic matters was subject to the disallowance of the British government, and indeed the governor-general, in his instructions, was specifically commanded to reserve certain classes of bills for the signification of the royal pleasure. Canada could not control the immigration entering her ports from the British Isles; she could not legislate with regard to Canadian shipping on the high seas; she could not control copyright within her own borders. The principle was not yet fully established that she should look after her own defence, or even the suppression of internal disorders. The force which put down the Riel Rebellion of 1870 was not a Canadian, but an imperial force. British troops still garrisoned Halifax, and the command of the military forces of Canada was still vested in an imperial general officer. Even in the executive and the judicial spheres restrictions remained. The governor-general had a prerogative which the Crown in England no longer enjoyed, the right of pardon; and for a final court of appeal Canadians had to go to the judicial committee of the Privy Council at Westminster.

The process whereby these shackles on the will of the Canadian people have been, and are being, struck off one by one, began almost immediately after the political death of Canada First. Canada First, by giving up its life, saved it. For once it was eliminated as a political factor, both the old political parties took up its doctrines and strove to put them into effect. The Liberal party, under the inspiration of Edward Blake, and later of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, adopted its ideas of constitutional autonomy: while the Conservative party, under Sir John Macdonald, adopted that plank in its platform which came to bear the name of the National Policy. Both parties, indeed, might be said to have adopted the main ideas of Canada First almost entirely, for the Conservative administrations of Sir John Macdonald, Sir Joseph Thompson, and Sir Robert Borden have followed faithfully, on the whole, the lines of constitutional development laid down by the Liberals, and the Liberal administration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier made no real attempt to reverse the National Policy. The history of Canada since Confederation has been the history of the rivalry of the two great political parties for the favour of the growing national feeling of the Canadian people.

The administration in power in 1875 in Canada was that of Alexander Mackenzie. In some respects Mackenzie's policy was anti-national, especially in regard to the building of the Canadian

Pacific Railway. But on the constitutional side Mackenzie was not unfavourable to Canadian nationalism. It was he who, in 1875, set up the Supreme Court of Canada as a sort of buffer between the provincial courts and the judicial committee of the Privy Council; and it was under him, in 1878, that Edward Blake, then minister of justice, obtained from the British government important concessions in regard to the powers of the governor-general. Blake persuaded the British government to withdraw from the governor-general not only the power of pardon but even the obligation to reserve classes of bills for the signification of the royal pleasure. This was far from being tantamount to the resignation by the British government of the power of disallowing Dominion legislation, but it marked the beginning of the period in which this power was used with greater and greater infrequency, and in which, indeed, the power may be said to have become, so far as Canada is concerned, obsolescent.

The government of Sir John Macdonald, which succeeded that of Mackenzie in 1878, made its chief contribution to the national development of Canada in the sphere of fiscal policy. It set up that protectionist system which was named, not by hazard, but by design, the National Policy—a name justified by the fact that protectionism is merely nationalism in its economic aspect. The rallying cry of the advocates of the "N.P." was, indeed, "Canada for the Canadians". But in some respects Macdonald's government showed itself also not averse to national development in the constitutional sphere. The appointment of a Canadian High Commissioner at London in 1879 not only gave Canada a representative of a semi-consular nature at the centre of the Empire, but it marked also the beginning of a new era in the relations of Canada with other countries. The Canadian High Commissioner came to be employed, at first in an advisory capacity, and then as a direct diplomatic representative, in the negotiation of treaties affecting Canada; and thus, through him, the right of Canada to be consulted with regard to treaties affecting her came to be admitted. In the sphere of defence, progress was made in the direction of a greater reliance by Canada on her own resources: it is noteworthy that, whereas the North-West expedition of 1870 was an imperial force, that of 1885 was Canadian. And just before the death of Macdonald in 1891, the government asserted vigorously, though unsuccessfully, the right of the Canadian parliament to legislate with regard to Canadian copyright and Canadian merchant shipping. Sir John

Thompson's fight for Canadian control of Canadian copyright, cut short by his untimely death at Windsor Castle in 1894, bade fair to place him, with Edward Blake, in the front rank of the champions of Canadian autonomy.

It was, however, during the régime of Sir Wilfrid Laurier that the development of Canadian autonomy took its greatest strides. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was one of the greatest of Canadian nationalists. Although he had opposed Confederation he loyally accepted it once it was achieved, and throughout his long political career he strove unceasingly to bring about harmony between the French and the English in Canada, to bind them together with a common national feeling. "Our respective forefathers were enemies and waged bloody war against each other for centuries," he said in his maiden speech in the Quebec legislature in 1871. "But we, their descendants, united under the same flag, fight no other fights than those of a generous emulation to excel each other in trade and industry, in the sciences and arts of peace."[1] This ideal he kept steadfastly before him, and it affords indeed the key to his career. It explains, in particular, his attitude toward the position of Canada in the Empire. He conceived of the British Empire—to use his own eloquent phrase—as "a galaxy of free nations"; and both on Parliament Hill and at the repeated Imperial Conferences which he attended he resisted every attempt, from whatever quarter, to infringe upon the national autonomy of the great self-governing Dominions.

His actual contributions to the growth of Canadian autonomy were many. It was under him that the last imperial troops were withdrawn from Canada, that the fortifications at Halifax and Esquimalt were handed over to the Canadian authorities, that the military forces in Canada ceased to be commanded by an imperial officer, and that the policy of a Canadian navy was launched—that Canada, in short, assumed the full responsibility for her own defence. It was under him that the right of Canada to control and regulate British immigration was first successfully asserted by the Immigration Act of 1910. And it was under him that the interests of Canada in connection with the signing of imperial treaties were finally safeguarded, and that Canada acquired the right of negotiating direct with foreign states in regard to commercial matters. To say, as is sometimes said, that Canada acquired the treaty-making power is not perhaps technically

[1] J. S. Willison, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party*, vol. i, p. 135.

correct; what she obtained was the right to make informal agreements with foreign states to bring in concurrent legislation. But this was, to all intents and purposes, the equivalent of the treaty-making power in commercial matters; and in 1908 the principle was adopted that, so far as political treaties were concerned, Canada was not to be bound by any imperial treaty unless she signified her willingness to be bound by it. These developments, as is obvious, went far toward making Canada a completely autonomous nation within the British Empire, and even toward making her a unit in international politics.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier fell from power because, despite his contributions to the cause of Canadian national autonomy, he embarked upon what was at least a partial impairment of the National Policy. His proposals for reciprocity with the United States were rejected by the national consciousness at the polls, and Sir Robert Borden came into power pledged to maintain the National Policy in its integrity. Sir Robert Borden was at first suspected of being less zealous for the cause of Canadian autonomy than for that of imperial unity, and the naval policy which he adopted in 1912 seemed perhaps to lend colour to this view. But in the end Sir Robert Borden has proved himself to be no less decided a champion of Dominion autonomy than Sir Wilfrid Laurier was. It was he who moved at the Imperial War Conference of 1917 the resolution regarding the future constitutional arrangements of the Empire which laid down the striking principle that "any readjustment of relations . . . must be based on the complete recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and must fully recognize their right to a voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations". His greatest achievement, however, was his success at the Peace Conference of 1919 in obtaining for Canada, together with the other self-governing Dominions, separate representation in the Assembly of the League of Nations, and even the right to have its representative elected to the Council of the League. This diplomatic victory means, if it means anything, that the nationality of Canada is now recognized, not only within the circle of the British Empire, but also within the circle of international politics. It marks the crowning point in the movement toward Canadian autonomy, and it is clear that beyond this point, short of absolute independence, the ideal of Canadian autonomy within the British Empire cannot be pushed much further.

The triumph of Canadian national autonomy and the impregnability of the National Policy are monuments of the growth of a national feeling in Canada. Without a strong national spirit these things could not have come to pass, and he would be a man of some temerity to-day who, in view of these developments, denied to Canada either a national feeling or a national status.

V. THE SITUATION TO-DAY

Canadian national feeling, however, is still young, and is still growing. It grew appreciably even during the period of the Great War. "Nationality," as Mr. A. E. Zimmern has pointed out,[1] "means more to a Jew and an Armenian (probably the two oldest surviving forms of national consciousness) than to a Canadian; and, to quote a famous phrase, 'it means more to be a Canadian to-day' than it did before the second battle of Ypres."

Canadian nationalism, moreover, is far from absolute, since it contains within it two subordinate nationalisms, the British-Canadian and the French-Canadian, each based mainly on the element of language. There is in this fact itself nothing deplorable; for, as we have seen, two or more subordinate nationalisms may well exist within a single supernationalism. Indeed, a state which contains within it two or more varieties of national feeling is in some respects—*pace* the advocates of "self-determination"—in a more advantageous position than a state which contains within it only one type of nationalism. In the latter state nationalism is apt to become intolerant, to regard itself as the sole basis of citizenship; whereas, in a composite national state, people are likely to be forced to learn the lesson of toleration. A psychological phenomenon like national feeling is no more fitted to be the basis of the state than a psychological phenomenon like religious feeling. It has taken the world many centuries of religious wars to learn the lesson of religious toleration; and it is apparently going to take it some centuries of national wars to learn the lesson of national toleration. But once this lesson is learnt there is no reason why two nationalisms based on language should not continue to exist within a larger nationalism in which language is not a necessary ingredient.

[1] A. E. Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, p. 55.

From this point of view Canadians are peculiarly fortunate in that they have at the source of their national history a federal compact itself founded on the principle of toleration. The Confederation compromise is the sheet-anchor of an all-Canadian national feeling, and as long as the spirit underlying that compromise is not forgotten, the continued existence and growth of an all-Canadian nationalism should be assured.

There is, of course, danger that the lesson of toleration, once learnt so well by Canadians, may under other circumstances be forgotten. There have been in the past, and there are to-day, Canadians who would seem to have forgotten it, who have been willing to go behind the back of the Confederation compromise. There have even been proposals that Confederation should be disrupted. In January, 1918, there was introduced into the Legislative Assembly of the province of Quebec a resolution by Mr. J. N. Francoeur, the member for Lotbinière, to the effect that "this House is of opinion that the Province of Quebec would be disposed to accept the breaking of the Confederation Pact of 1867 if, in the other provinces, it is believed that she is an obstacle to the union, progress, and development of Canada." This resolution came in the wake of a serious conflict of opinion between the province of Quebec and the rest of the Dominion over issues arising out of the Great War; and feeling was then running high between the French and the English in Canada. Yet even at that time, and in that place, the resolution was not pressed to a vote, and the attitude of the majority of the members of the Assembly was expressed by the prime minister of Quebec, Sir Lomer Gouin, in a speech so sound and statesmanlike, so eloquent of the spirit of the larger Canadian nationalism, that it deserves to become a classic of Canadian oratory. In phrases almost ritualistic, Sir Lomer Gouin thus summarized his political creed:

> I believe in the Canadian Confederation. Federal government appears to me to be the only possible one in Canada because of our differences of race and creed, and also because of the variety and multiplicity of local needs in our immense territory.
>
> To make myself more clear I declare that if I had been a party to the negotiations of 1864 I would certainly have tried, had I had authority to do so, to obtain for the French-Canadian minority in the sister provinces the same protection that was obtained for the English minority in the province of Quebec. I would not have

> asked that as a concession but as a measure of justice. And even if it had not been accorded me I would have voted in favour of the resolutions of 1864.
>
> At the time of the debate of 1865 I would have renewed my demand for this measure of prudence and justice. And if I had not succeeded, I would still have declared myself in favour of the system as it was voted March 13, 1865. And even at this moment Sir, in spite of the troubles that have arisen in the administration of our country since 1867, in spite of the trouble caused those people from Quebec who constitute the minority in the other provinces, if I had to choose between Confederation and the Act of 1791 or the Act of 1840-41, I would vote for Confederation still.[1]

These words breathe perfectly the spirit of the larger nationalism. They reveal a willingness to tolerate the rights—and even if you will, the prejudices—of others which many Canadians, both French and English, would do well to copy.

Before Canadian national feeling can attain to a full-orbed completeness, it may be necessary to revise somewhat the details of the Confederation compromise. That compromise, as embodied in the Seventy-Two Resolutions, was the result of a brief and hasty conference; and it is reasonable to suppose that, after the experience of the last half-century, there may be room for some revision of its details. In particular, it is desirable that there should be a new agreement with regard to the language question in the schools. It should be recognized frankly that the factor of a common language is not, and cannot be, an essential element in the growth of an all-Canadian national feeling; and while it may be too much to expect that the English-speaking provinces should give up their provincial control of education, while there are purely educational reasons why bilingualism should not be widely introduced into the schools of Canada, there are still obvious injustices to be remedied. It was clearly an oversight in the Confederation compromise that, whereas the French and English languages were placed on a parity in the federal parliament and the federal courts, there was no provision whereby the French language was given any standing as the language of instruction in the schools of the federal capital, where thousands of French-Canadian servants of the state are compelled to live. Whether

[1] A. Savard and W. E. Playfair (eds.), *Quebec and Confederation: A record of the Debate of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec on the Motion proposed by J. N. Francoeur, member for Lotbinière*, Quebec, 1918, p. 124.

the city of Ottawa and its environs could even at this late date be erected into a federal district, under the administration of the federal government, and with the same guarantees for both the French and English languages which exist at present in the federal sphere, is a large and difficult question; but if some such concessions as this could be made by the English-speaking majority in Canada, the result would be, no doubt, to consolidate greatly Canadian national feeling—a national feeling based, not on the factors of language and religion, but on those of a common fatherland, a common history, a common allegiance, common political ideals, and common hopes for the future.

W. S. WALLACE

THE STRUGGLE OVER THE LAWS OF CANADA, 1763-1783

THE most difficult problem which the acquisition of Canada presented to the government of Great Britain was to settle upon a system of municipal law for the country which would be satisfactory to the people as a whole. When the Treaty of Paris was signed on February 10, 1763, the people of Canada were, with exceptions numerically insignificant, of French origin. They were a branch of one of the most highly civilized nations in Europe, and had brought with them, and sedulously fostered, as much of the culture of the mother country as the changed conditions would permit. When Montcalm came to Canada, and had an opportunity of observing the surroundings into which his duty had cast him, he declared that, excepting Paris, there was no town in France in which the society was superior to that of Quebec.

The body of laws by which the civil relations of Canadians were regulated were those which were administered in France at the same period. A succession of judges and other law officers trained in the courts of France, combined with the strong centralizing policy pursued by the home government, held New France in closer bonds to Old France than those existing between New and Old England. The *Coutume de Paris* was the common law of Canada, and the learned commentaries of Ferrière and other French legists were adduced to establish points at issue in the courts of Canada. The edicts and ordinances decreed for the government of France lost none of their efficacy in Canada, if found applicable to the circumstances and conditions of this country.

This bit of France stretched along both sides of the St. Lawrence from a point not far above where the Ottawa enters the great river down to the Gulf, and up the Richelieu as far as Lake Champlain. The population, which numbered between seventy and eighty thousand, dwelt either in the towns of Quebec, Mon-

treal, and Trois Rivières, or in feudal fashion in the seigniories which lay side by side along the river fronts.

Had Great Britain had to consider only these people, its task would have been a simple one. Policy as well as humanity would have compelled her to continue the system of law which she found in operation on taking possession of the country. But the fortunes of her arms had gained for England, not a mere river basin, but half a continent, capable of sustaining in comfort millions of people; and the government had no notion of leaving these vast spaces unoccupied, while the French seed was multiplying and seemed likely in the progress of time, to fill them up. Without trammeling the development of the Canadians in any way, Great Britain might legitimately anticipate the occupation of the country in large part by her own sons.

The first act of the government would seem to indicate that this view had absorbed its attention to the exclusion of the facts of the situation.[1] On September 7, 1763, the King issued a proclamation inviting British subjects from home and from the colonies to settle in Canada, and promised that they should enjoy every advantage to be found in the other colonies. As soon as conditions would warrant it, they were to have a house of assembly, and in the meantime they might rely on the protection of the laws of England.

Immigration at once set in, both from the older colonies and from Great Britain. Though at first inconsiderable in numbers, the newcomers soon became an important part of the population. They settled almost entirely in the towns, and the majority proceeded to engage in trade. Among them were representatives of several London mercantile houses. This was a field of activity which had not been taken up by the Canadians, whose transactions, though of considerable magnitude, were left almost entirely in the hands of a great fur company, the Compagnie des Indes.

Under the skilful and energetic management of the English merchants, trade developed rapidly. The transactions between Great Britain and Canada in the year 1764 amounted to £296,000

[1] The government was, as a matter of fact, fully acquainted with the situation, through information obtained by the Board of Trade. Lord Hillsborough, a member of the Board of Trade, indeed declared that the construction generally given to the proclamation did not correspond with the intentions of the government (Can. Arch. Q. p. 344).

sterling.[1] These merchants, whether coming from the colonies or the mother country, had lived and carried on their activities under the laws of England, and their natural predilection for these laws was no doubt enhanced by an arrogance perhaps not less natural. Allied with these in preference for the laws of England, so far at least as they related to commerce, was another class which was coming into existence, though slowly. As commerce rose into importance, it attracted the attention of some Canadians. They associated themselves with the British merchants, gained experience under their tutelage, and, in the conduct of their affairs, looked to the commercial laws of England as the rule of right.[2]

Here then was the situation which confronted the legislators on whom it fell to frame a system of laws for Canada. On the one side were the vast majority of the people who knew none but the French laws and customs. On the other was a body almost insignificant numerically, but important from the nature and magnitude of its transactions, and which, under favouring auspices, had in it possibilities of indefinite expansion. This body knew no laws but those of England, and, what was of equal importance, its members all had relations with commercial houses in Great Britain, who insisted on the regulation of those relations by the laws of England.

The situation was far from simple. To satisfy the legitimate and apparently irreconcilable demands of the two races called for a nice skill on the part of the government. But there is little evidence that the government had any sense of the complications which confronted them in settling affairs in Canada.

The royal commission to the governor, setting forth the commands imposed upon, and the powers entrusted to, him in the exercise of his high office are, in all essential particulars, identical with the commission issued to the governor of New York in 1754.[3] Among his powers was that of calling an assembly and, with the legislature thus constituted, making laws not "repugnant but as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of this our Kingdom of Great Britain". The governor was also empowered, with the consent of his council, to erect courts of justice for the hearing and determining of all causes according to law

[1] Shelburne Papers, Can. Arch., v. 102.
[2] Finlay's observations on the Ordinance of 1777 (Finlay Papers, Can. Arch.).
[3] Maseres, *A Collection of Several Commissions*, etc., London, 1772, p. 239.

and equity. In his instructions, which accompanied the commission, Murray was enjoined, in constituting courts of justice, to consider what had taken place in the other colonies, particularly in that last formed—Nova Scotia.

One seeks in vain, in either commission or instructions, for a word to indicate that, in providing for a judicial establishment and system of laws, the government gave a thought to the fact that the people for whom they were making provision were practically all of another highly civilized nation.

Within little more than a month after civil government was established in Quebec, Murray issued an ordinance erecting civil courts, and prescribing the law which should be applied. The ordinance was prepared by the chief justice, William Gregory, and the attorney-general, George Suckling.[1] Neither of these officers understood the French language or laws, and they must have been vastly relieved by the specifications they received from Murray. Suckling before his appointment in Quebec had resided in Nova Scotia, where he had practised at the bar, and had been a member of the assembly.[2] He was, therefore, fully qualified to draw up an ordinance on the lines of Nova Scotia practice, which Murray was directed to take for his guidance.

The ordinance[3] established two courts, a court of King's Bench and a court of Common Pleas. Over the former the chief justice presided with authority to determine all criminal and civil causes. The court of Common Pleas dealt with civil cases only. It was presided over by three judges, none of whom, incidentally, had had any legal training, and its jurisdiction covered all cases in which the matter in dispute was over the value of £10.

In the court of King's Bench, the judge was required to apply the laws of England and the ordinances of the province. In the Common Pleas, which Murray stated to be for the Canadians only, the judges were to be governed in their decisions by equity, having regard nevertheless to the laws of England so far as the circumstances and present situation would permit. Canadians might practise in this court, though not in the court of King's Bench.

For the determination of small cases, justices of the peace were appointed, who sat singly, in pairs, or three together. The

[1] Minutes of Legislative Council, A., August 20, 1764.
[2] Can. Arch., C.O. 42, v. 13, p. 135.
[3] *Const. Docs.*, v. 1, p. 149.

single justice had a jurisdiction up to £5, two justices up to £10, and three up to £30.

The substantive law remained unchanged until the Quebec Act came into force. But the adjective or administrative side underwent several changes, mainly in the direction desired by the Canadians.

By the first ordinance, Canadian lawyers were confined in their pleadings to the court of Common Pleas, and in both courts juries were chosen indiscriminately. On instructions from the home government Canadian lawyers were put on an equal footing with those of British origin in both courts, and juries were chosen according to the nationality of the litigants. If both parties to a suit were of one nationality, the jury was selected entirely from persons of that nationality; if the parties were of different nationalities, the jury was composed of half British-born and half Canadians.[1]

In 1770 a change of a more radical character was made. One of the great distinctions between the practice before the Conquest and after, was that during the French period the courts sat very frequently—twice every week; under Murray's ordinance, which was based on British practice, the courts sat only twice a year at Quebec and annually at Montreal. A third term was added shortly after Murray's departure, but, even with this addition, the courts at Quebec heard cases only three times a year—in January, June, and October. This was considered by Canadians one of the greatest hardships attaching to the British judicial system, and in the ordinance of 1770[2] provision was made for the adoption of the French mode in the court of Common Pleas. This court sat twice a week, hearing cases under £12 value on Fridays, and cases of that amount or greater on Saturdays.

The administration of justice by justices of the peace was greatly restricted by the same ordinance. They had proved a total failure. The justices were required to be Protestants, and were therefore nearly all of British origin. They were either chosen from men engaged in business, whose time was so occupied with their own affairs that they could not give adequate attention to their judicial duties, or they were men who had no regular occupation, and who looked upon their duties on the bench as means of providing part, at least, of their livelihood. In the

[1] *Const. Docs.*, v. i, p. 172.
[2] *Const. Docs.*, v. i, p. 280.

words of the ordinance abolishing their jurisdiction, they had "become an intolerable burden to the subject, and proved the means of great disquiet, vexation and oppression".

Before leaving this part of the subject, it should be noted that the courts of Common Pleas were not, in practice, ill-adapted for the fulfilment of the original intention of making them courts for Canadians. They sat, twice a week, in both Quebec and Montreal; Canadian lawyers pleaded their cases before judges who were either Canadian, or had a competent knowledge of the French language; and, if juries were desired, Canadian juries decided on the facts in dispute between two Canadians, and where the litigants were of different nationalities, Canadians made up half the juries. The expense of suits, which was crushing in the first years of civil government, was brought within limits by the ordinance of 1770, of which no person had reason to complain.

During the period between the establishment of civil government and the inauguration of the Quebec Act, many of the French laws and customs ran concurrently with the English laws. In every part of the province were notaries who had practised during the French period, and who were taken over and re-commissioned by the British governors.[1]

Their forms and modes of practice were not affected by the change of government. Thus, in the disposition of the estates of Canadians, the French laws relating to inheritance and to the distribution of personal property were commonly applied, and the French forms were in ordinary use for the conveyance and mortgaging of landed property.[2]

In the Superior Court, also, the hardships were greatly mitigated. It is true that the laws of England were the rule in this court, but there was no longer a difficulty respecting language. After Chief Justice Gregory had been removed, his place was taken by William Hey, who, as well as the attorney-general, Maseres, had an easy use of the French language.

Conditions in Quebec with reference to the legal establishment had been engaging the attention of the government at home. Memorials had been presented by both Canadian and British-born subjects expressing dissatisfaction with existing arrangements. The law officers of the Crown, to whom these memorials

[1] Forty-one Canadian notaries were re-commissioned by the British government. There was one notary at least in every part of the province (Roy, *Notaries de Québec*, 1906).

[2] Report prepared by Maseres, Sept. 11, 1769 (*Const. Docs.*, v. i, p. 240).

were sent for report, traversed the situation created by the governor's ordinance, criticizing several of the features of the latter, and making recommendations of radical changes, the chief of which was that in all questions touching real property the former French law should be the rule of decision.[1]

The government of Lord Rockingham, which was in office at the time, seemed disposed to act upon the recommendations of the law officers of the Crown, but the opposition of the chancellor, Lord Northington, frustrated the intention, and his retirement, in connection with this question, brought about the downfall of the government.[2] In the following year the report of the law officers was submitted to the Chatham government, which had succeeded that of Lord Rockingham. The report underwent the same fate as in the previous year, and from the same cause. Northington, who remained chancellor in the Chatham administration, took the not unreasonable ground that the government had not enough information to go upon in making radical changes, and that enquiry should be made from those having first-hand information before action was taken.[3] The ministry accepted this view, and Lord Shelburne, the colonial secretary, directed the governor and law officers in Quebec to make reports and at the same time sent out his secretary, Maurice Morgann, to investigate conditions.[4] After a stay of nearly a year and a half, Morgann returned to England bearing with him the reports from the officers in Quebec as well as one made by himself.

All these papers were turned over to the attorney-general, the solicitor-general and the advocate-general, all of whom made elaborate reports and recommendations.[5] Of opinions and conclusions there was such an *embarras de richesse* that the government decided to take the subject into its own hands and frame an Act in accordance with the policy dictated by both honour and expediency.[6] The bill before being submitted to parliament, passed through several drafts, a consideration of which will show

[1] *Const. Docs.*, v. i, p. 177.

[2] *Rockingham Memoirs*, v. i, p. 350 *et seq.*

[3] *Autobiography of the Duke of Grafton*, edited by Sir William A. Anson, 1898, p. 170.

[4] *Const. Docs.*, v. i, p. 201.

[5] *Const. Docs.*, v. i, pp. 296-337.

[6] [Wm. Knox, Under-Secretary of State], *The Justice and Policy of the late Act of Parliament*, etc., p. 19.

the progressive steps by which a measure conformable to their policy was finally attained.[1]

The aims of the government and the means by which it was intended that they should be realized can be found in the Quebec Act itself, in Lord North's explanations,[2] and in the royal instructions sent out for Carleton's guidance in the administration of the act. The aims of the government, which were the satisfaction of the legitimate demands of both sections of the population, the government hoped to achieve partly by the provisions of the Act and partly by the action of the Quebec legislature, in the exercise of powers entrusted to it by the Act.

Conscious of the inability of the parliament of Great Britain to legislate satisfactorily for the needs of a distant colony, the government decided that the most they could safely do was to furnish the Quebec legislature a basis from which they could work, a point of departure for those, who, being on the spot, would have the intimate knowledge of the requirements of the colony, and of the means of meeting those requirements. That basis they were of opinion should be the civil law of France—the criminal law of England being accepted without serious demur by both portions of the community. As changes were made in the French civil law to meet the needs of the English portion of the population, they would be published as enacted, and would thus become part of the known law of the province.[3] To this end it was enacted that all causes relative to property and civil rights should be determined "agreeably to the said laws and customs of Canada *until they shall be varied by any ordinances that shall from time to time be passed by the Governor . . . by and with the advice of the Legislative Council*".

What the government had especially in mind in leaving these powers in the hands of the local legislature is clear from the instructions to Carleton. By the twelfth instruction[4] the governor was directed that, while in all cases touching real property and the distribution of the personal property of intestates the Canadians should have the benefit of their old laws and customs, the Legislative Council should apply themselves to considering whether the laws of England might not be, if not altogether, at

[1] The several drafts will be found in *Const. Docs.*

[2] Cavendish, *Debates.*

[3] This, Carleton testified before the House of Commons, would not be objected to by Canadians (Cavendish, *Debates*, p. 106).

[4] *Const. Docs.*, v. i, p. 422.

least in part the rule for the decision of actions grounded upon debts and contracts, whether of a mercantile or other nature, and of wrongs proper to be compensated in damages. The thirteenth instruction pointed out that provision for personal liberty was an object which the legislature ought never to lose sight of, and directed attention to the desirability of a law providing for a writ of Habeas Corpus, "which is the right of every British subject in this Kingdom". The governor was required by the seventh and eighth instructions to communicate forthwith to the Council all instructions in which their advice and consent were requisite, and to permit the members to have and enjoy freedom of debate and vote on all matters of public concern that might be debated in Council.

Ample provision seems to have been made by the foregoing terms of the Act and the royal instructions for a satisfactory solution of the difficulties of the situation. All thereafter depended on the action of the governor. Carleton well knew the wishes and anxieties of the British government on this head, as he had been in England since 1770, and did not leave until after the Act was sanctioned by the king.

When Carleton arrived in Quebec he received a grateful welcome from the Canadians.[1] Among the British-born, however, causes for great anxiety existed. The Quebec *Gazette*,[2] the only newspaper published in the province, and the official organ of the government, in its issue of August 18, 1774, published an abstract of the Quebec Act. From it the British-born subject learned that in all controversies relative to property and civil rights between His Majesty's subjects, whether Canadian or English, "resort shall be had *to the laws of Canada* and *not to the laws of England*, for the decision of the same". These were the words of one of the drafts of the bill, but not of the Act as finally passed, but the British merchant in Canada had no knowledge of the facts beyond what appeared in the official gazette.

At a stroke, as he had been informed, the laws on the faith of which he had come to Canada and by which his property had been protected for ten years, were wantonly swept away, and that in terms so uncompromising as to leave him without a shadow of hope for their restoration.

[1] *Const. Docs.*, v. i, p. 410.

[2] A file of the Quebec *Gazette* from its commencement on June 21, 1764, is on the shelves of the Public Archives of Canada.

Carleton, in a report made on November 11, 1774,[1] indicates an alarming condition of affairs among the British-born portion of the population. They were, as he intimates, seething with sedition. Under the impulse given by the merchants of Montreal, who, as Carleton inclined to think, were of a more turbulent turn, the merchants of Quebec combined to voice their sentiments in letters of thanks to the corporation of London, and petitions to the king and houses of parliament.

It might have been anticipated that Carleton would not have allowed a day to pass before he corrected the lamentable impression created by the false news item in the *Gazette*. The good faith of the sovereign, the anxiety of the government, and the interests of the class by whom the country was being set on its feet all demanded it. How deeply the British government felt on the subject may be gathered from a letter of the colonial secretary of December 10, 1774,[2] in which, after noting Carleton's report of the satisfaction occasioned among the Canadians by the terms of the Quebec Act, he infers from Carleton's silence that the natural-born subjects were not equally pleased. The colonial secretary was confident, however, that when the whole plan was disclosed to them they would not be behind the Canadians in their satisfaction. He urged Carleton, by every argument which the good sense of the latter would suggest, to persuade the natural-born subjects of the attention which had been paid to their interests in the adoption of the English laws, as far as was consistent with what was due to the just claims and moderate wishes of the Canadians.

We must now inquire how Carleton carried out these instructions. Although he must have been blind not to realize that one great and justifiable cause of the general discontent among the British-born people was the news that the king had broken faith with them, and compelled them to look to the French laws, to them unknown and deeply mistrusted, for the protection of their property and civil rights, he took no steps to correct the misinformation until ten weeks after his arrival in the province;[3] and at no time did he give a hint of what was involved, of interest and hope to them, in the words of the Act "until they [the laws and customs of Canada] shall be varied or altered by any ordinances" passed by the governor-in-council.

[1] *Const. Docs.*, v. i, p. 412.

[2] *Const. Docs.*, v. i, p. 411.

[3] The Act was first published in the Quebec *Gazette* on Dec. 8, 1774.

When Carleton's commission and instructions reached Quebec, he was fully engaged with matters concerning the defence of the province, and it was not until August, 1775, that he was sufficiently free to call a meeting of Council. At that meeting he presented his commission,[1] but, in spite of the royal orders that such parts of his instructions as required action on the part of Council should be laid before that body forthwith, he submitted none of these. He did recommend that a committee should be appointed to prepare the heads of an ordinance to establish courts of justice, but left the committee in ignorance of the orders from the government at home. Yet he had in his possession at that time the draft of an ordinance approved by the government which would have given ample satisfaction to the British-born subjects, and could by no possibility have aroused any reasonable opposition among the Canadians. This ordinance[2] met the ardent desire of the old subjects to have facts in dispute settled by juries, but at the same time provided arrangements, by which the determination of such facts could be left in the hands of the judges, if both parties to the suit preferred to dispense with juries.

It has been contended that the governor could not with prudence have made these concessions to the old British subjects, as it would have alienated the French. But there was nothing in the concessions to give offence to any reasonable person. There was no derogation from the rights granted to the Canadians in the Act. They had their civil laws in all matters in which they were interested, and Carleton had admitted before the House of Commons that the Canadians would have no objection to the English commercial laws, if the latter were published, so that they might know what these laws were. The British government, with all the facts before them which Carleton and Hey could furnish, did not hold with Carleton's views; and, moreover, Carleton knew that his action would be disapproved, for to the offence of disobedience of orders, he added that of concealment. He wrote home on many matters, but did not mention that he had failed to carry out his instructions; and it was over two years before the government in England learned that their instructions had been disobeyed.

Hey, the chief justice, who had returned from England a short time before, and was at the August Council, endeavoured to

[1] Journals of Legislative Council, D. p. 3.
[2] Can. Arch., C.O. 42, v. 14, p. 28.

induce the Canadian members to yield on the point of the English commercial laws, but they refused.[1] "Je me renferme dans le Bill" was the answer of each, and who shall blame them for declining to make gratuitous concessions, not asked for by the governor, nor, so far as they knew, desired by the British government?

The events in the course of the war made it necessary to defer further meetings of the Council until the spring of 1777. At the first session, the new judicature ordinances were introduced.[2] In nearly all essential particulars they were a reproduction of the ordinance of 1770. They contained, however, some outstanding features. Provision was made for the use of the English laws of evidence, and all provision omitted for the ascertainment of disputed facts by the verdict of a jury. The jurisdiction of the Court of King's Bench in the matter of civil causes was also abolished, the functions of this court being confined to the trial of criminal causes.

When the ordinance for establishing a court of civil judicature was under discussion, Hugh Finlay, one of the oldest members of the Council, and the consistent friend of the Canadians, made a strong plea for optional juries. He had, he said, no desire to force this mode of ascertaining facts on any suitors, who would prefer another mode, but the Englishman looked upon trial by jury as his birthright, and, on the understanding that suitors might elect to have their differences settled by judges if they chose, he urged the Council to make this concession in commercial cases. But he was silenced by a peremptory notice from Carleton that the mention of a jury in the ordinance would vitiate the whole, and he would not assent to it.[3]

In the following year a new personality appeared on the scene, who managed to raise the veil with which Carleton had concealed from the British government the measures he had taken on the instructions of the Home government. Hey, the chief justice, retired; and he was succeeded by Peter Livius, who had had extended colonial service as a judge in New Hampshire, and who had suffered as a Loyalist.

Chief Justice Livius was a strong legalist. Any departures from the regular course of law were repugnant to him, and he was exceedingly sceptical of attempted justifications on the ground

[1] Hey to Lord Chancellor, August 28, 1775 (*Const. Docs.*, v. i, p. 458).
[2] *Const. Docs.*, v. i, pp. 464, 466, 471.
[3] Finlay Papers, in Can. Arch.

of necessity. He was quick to detect and pertinacious to pursue any irregularity in administration. As a consequence he was apt to be troublesome to colonial governors, who, being soldiers, lacked something of that veneration for law and precedent which a training in the law tends to engender, and whom distance from the seat of authority permitted to slip easily into disregard of the law, when it stood opposed to their plans.

The most vexatious feature of the contentions of a man of this sort is that he is often right. In New Hampshire, Livius arraigned the governor for improper practices in connection with the granting of the Crown lands. The Privy Council had to admit that his charges had foundation, but, owing to the general excellence of the governor's administration, they were not prepared to recommend removal.[1]

When Livius came to Quebec as chief justice he rather gratuitously took up the case of several persons confined in the jail on suspicion of sedition, and gave Cramahé, the lieutenant-governor, much uneasiness by his declared resolution to set them free, if adequate legal reasons for their confinement were not produced.[2]

It was, then, as a somewhat unpopular personage that he entered the Council in April, 1778. On the 8th of that month, at the second sitting of the Council which he attended, he introduced a motion which was calculated to bring Carleton to bay. He moved that, as the Council had not hitherto had communication of His Majesty's instructions for making and passing laws in the province, his Excellency be humbly requested to communicate to them such royal instructions as he might have received relative to the legislation of the province and as he might think proper to be disclosed to them, to the end that the Council might dutifully endeavour to conform themselves to His Majesty's intentions, and, as far as they were able, carry into effect His Majesty's most gracious purposes for the good government of his subjects in the province.[3]

Had the Council been composed of men of independence, a motion so proper in substance and so unexceptionable in form could scarcely have failed of adoption, and Carleton's position would have been awkward. But Carleton had no ground for fear. The majority of the Council were bound to him by motives

[1] Acts of Privy Council (Unbound Series), p. 541.
[2] Can. Arch., Q. 14, pp. 233-253.
[3] Journals of Legislative Council, D. p. 35.

of fear or interest, and the motion was rejected by a vote of eleven to five.

A more prudent man would have accepted this decision, as conclusive of the general attitude of the Council towards the governor, and have turned his attention to such things as might fall within the limits of the governor's good pleasure. But prudence is not to be looked for in an infatuated reformer of abuses, and a fortnight later Livius brought in another motion, which proved his undoing.

Carleton had, without authority of any sort, formed a small body of five members within his Council, to which he entrusted all the work of the Council, except the enactment of laws.[1] This body, which he called his Privy Council, was at his service at all times, and the remaining members, who numbered from twelve to eighteen, were omitted from participation in any of the business of the province, except the work of legislation.

Livius determined that this system should be brought to an end, and that the Council as a whole should be restored to their position in the administration of the province.[2] But his motion to that effect had no better fate than his earlier motion. Consideration of it was precluded by a sudden prorogation, and six days later, he received a note of three lines from the provincial secretary informing him, by the governor's command, that he was no longer chief justice. An appeal to the governor for the reasons for this astonishing message brought no other reply than a verbal one from the secretary that there was no answer.[3]

Livius promptly laid the whole case before the Home government, who then called upon Carleton for an explanation. Carleton, who had meanwhile retired, and who was in England at the time, declined to make any statement. He would leave, he said, Livius to explain his proceedings in Council, and his transactions with Cramahé in the preceding autumn. Their lordships would be able to judge whether it would have proved detrimental to the King's service and to the tranquility of the province, had Livius continued as chief justice during Haldimand's administration.[4]

But it was impossible to permit so grave a matter as the dismissal of a chief justice to be disposed of in so cavalier a manner.

[1] Journals of Privy Council (Quebec), D. p. 1.
[2] Journals of Legislative Council, D. p. 40.
[3] Can. Arch., C.O. 42, v. 9, p. 69.
[4] Acts of Privy Council (Unbound Series), p. 575.

The Board of Trade, to whom the papers were referred, reported,[1] after a review of all the facts, that the conduct of Livius had been blameworthy on neither point. The earlier motion had been, in effect, a call upon the governor to comply with His Majesty's commands. By a communication of these instructions, the Board declared, His Majesty's gracious ends and designs in the constitution proposed for the province would have been fully manifested; and they could not see how the Council, empowered as they were by Act of parliament to all purposes of legislation jointly with the governor, could, without this communication, be so well instructed either in their own duty or in His Majesty's gracious will and pleasure, as to what might be fitting to be provided for by law within the province agreeable to the Quebec Act. Furthermore, they advised that, lest a constitution calculated to promote the welfare and happiness of His Majesty's subjects in Quebec should be mistaken or withheld, the governor should be commanded, forthwith to carry out the instructions conveyed to him.

Livius was ordered to be reinstated. But, though restored to the position of chief justice, Livius did not return to Quebec. The province being still in danger, it was necessary to set aside the ordinary processes of law, and, as Livius was uncompromising in his opposition to the irregular measures which the exigencies of the state demanded, he was not allowed to return,[2] though he held the emoluments of the office until 1786.

In June, 1778, Carleton, owing to the ill terms existing between himself and the colonial secretary, Lord George Germain, retired, and was succeeded by Frederick Haldimand. Haldimand was no stranger in Canada. He had taken part in the siege of Montreal, and, during the *Règne Militaire*, had been for a time governor of Trois Rivières. His government in this period had been all that could be desired. His uprightness and loyalty of character, and his concern for the well-being of the people over whom he had been placed, made him an excellent governor of the autocratic type. But in the intricacies of the civil government under a constitution he was hopelessly at sea.

A Swiss soldier of fortune, who, after service in several foreign states, had entered that of England in 1756, and was thereafter constantly engaged against either the French or the Americans, he

[1] Can. Arch., Q. 18 B, p. 131.

[2] Memo. to Pitt, unsigned, but almost certainly by Lord Sydney, Secretary of State, 1783-1789 (Can. Arch., C.O. 42, v. 18, p. 144).

had had no opportunity to learn anything of the British constitution. Even his knowledge of the language was a late acquisition. While in Trois Rivières, he wrote to his friend, General Gage, telling him of his three British merchants, who had some confused notions of a certain *magna charta* upon which they founded unlimited privileges.

On Haldimand, ignorant of the British constitution and of the traditions of liberty which were the pride of Englishmen, fell the task of conciliation in which Carleton had failed. In addition to the general instructions, which, in these respects, were identical with those sent to Carleton, a special instruction was conveyed to Haldimand directing him to communicate to his Council, by the first opportunity and without delay, such of his instructions as called for their advice and consent. Unfortunately, Haldimand took the conduct of his predecessor, rather than the positive orders of his superiors, as his guide, and he assumed the responsibility of disregarding these orders.

But the Council, bare as it was in men of independence, was not entirely without them. The role which Livius had been compelled to relinquish, was taken up by George Allsopp. Allsopp had come to Canada in 1760 as a merchant, and was for a time deputy secretary and registrar and clerk of the Council. In 1775, on Carleton's recommendation, he had been made a member of the Legislative Council. He had supported Livius in his demand for a view of the governor's instructions respecting the judicature, and was as persevering as the latter in his resistance to encroachments on personal liberty.

In February, 1780, Allsopp made a motion in Council, requesting with much humility that the governor disclose to Council all instructions from His Majesty relative to the passing of laws for the good government of the province.[1] But the Council were as little disposed to force Haldimand's hand, as it was to bring pressure on Carleton, and, by a call for the previous question, sidetracked Allsopp's motion.

Four days later, Haldimand so far relaxed as to lay two of his instructions before Council, informing them, however, that he had two or three others relating to the administration of justice which he did not think fit to submit at that time.[2] These were the crucial instructions relating to the English commercial laws and to Habeas Corpus.

[1] Journals of Legislative Council, D., p. 61.
[2] Journals of Legislative Council, D., p. 67.

In the following year, 1781, it became necessary to renew Carleton's judicature act of 1777, and Allsopp took advantage of the opportunity to move, in the very words of the royal instructions, that "in all cases of personal actions grounded upon debts, promises, contracts or agreements whether of a mercantile or other nature; and, also, of wrongs proper to be compensated in damages the laws of England shall be the rule for the trial and decision thereof". But he added a proviso, to save the rights of the Canadians, that "in any such cases wherein both plaintiff and defendant are His Majesty's Canadian subjects, they may have their cases decided by His Majesty's judges, without the intervention of a jury if both parties are so inclined".[1]

It is difficult to imagine a motion more calculated to gain the support of disinterested men, desirous of satisfying the wishes of all parties, but it was rejected by a vote of nineteen to one.

Haldimand, though equally disobedient to the instructions from home, shows in one respect to great advantage as compared with Carleton. If he withheld from Council the instructions he was ordered to communicate to that body, he made no effort, as Carleton did, to conceal the fact from his superiors. He informed the colonial secretary that, owing to his suspicions of the loyalty of some of the members of the Council, he did not deem it consistent with his duty to lay his instructions before them.[2]

To describe with appropriate vividness the reply of the Board of Trade[3] to Haldimand's communication, one would have to borrow the language of the street. It was very pointed. "The not paying obedience to express instructions the compliance with which rested with yourself only is a matter of too serious importance for us not to give our unreserved opinion upon it." The instructions, they proceeded to say, were founded upon the most convincing necessity, and His Majesty's pleasure was conveyed in terms so peremptory and express that they were at a loss to conceive, how it was possible for him to hesitate upon an instant obedience to them. They were prepared to believe that, as Haldimand asseverated, his views had no end but His Majesty's service. They conceived, however, that in this instance he was mistaken, and were persuaded that he would on receipt of this letter comply with those instructions. They forbore, they added, by way of conclusion, to say what they must, upon a contrary conduct, of necessity do.

[1] Journals of Legislative Council, D., p. 104.
[2] Haldimand to Germain, Oct. 25, 1780 (Can. Arch., B. 54, p. 354).
[3] Can. Arch., Q. 18 B, p. 174.

Haldimand had now no alternative, and he yielded, though with an ill grace. At a meeting of Council held in August, 1781,[1] he laid before Council all the general instructions which had been withheld by Carleton and himself. Six years had elapsed between the issue of these instructions, and their submission to the Council.

But, though compelled to give up this point, Haldimand was by no means at the end of his resources. His faithful Council could be depended upon to see that no legislation was enacted which was not to his liking. In the session of the Council for 1782,[2] Allsopp renewed his activities. On the consideration of the renewal of an ordinance about to expire to prohibit the exportation of wheat, he moved that prosecutions for infractions be tried by jury. This was voted down, he himself being the only member to vote for it.

Next day, greatly daring, he asked for leave to bring in three bills in conformity with the king's instructions.[3] The first was that, in all the courts, all cases of personal actions grounded upon debts, promises, contracts and agreements, whether of a mercantile or other nature, and also of wrongs proper to be compensated in damages, the laws of England shall be the rule for the trial and decision thereof, with a saving clause, providing that where the case lies between two Canadians, they may if they choose, have it decided by the judges alone.

The second of the bills he sought leave to introduce provided that all judges in His Majesty's court should be authorized to grant and issue writs of Habeas Corpus in all cases where such writs are directed to be granted by the laws and statutes of England and under the penalties established by such statutes.

The third bill suspended the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act for one year.

His purpose, as he explained when he entered upon the course he was pursuing, was no more than to permit the British-born portion of the population to become aware as to what had been His Majesty's intentions towards them when the Quebec Act was enacted. He had no desire, however, to embarrass the local government by a premature putting into force of the Habeas Corpus Act. He was convinced that all that was necessary to restore the British-born to their loyalty was the knowledge that

[1] Journals of Legislative Council, D., p. 112.
[2] Journals of Legislative Council, D., p. 120.
[3] Journals of Legislative Council, D., p. 123.

the government had not, in the Quebec Act, abandoned them, in violation of the king's pledge.

But he had gone too far. Haldimand's patience was exhausted and, going back over the files of the Council, he remembered a protest, which Allsopp had made three years before, and linking it up with the proceedings which have just been narrated, he directed Allsopp's suspension from the Legislative Council.

This is the end of a painful story—a story of unfaithful service to the Crown, and of tyranny to the subject, for which it is difficult to find a parallel in a British community. Both Carleton and Haldimand had every reason for knowing that by the course they elected to pursue they were thwarting the government in its desire to keep faith with those who had settled in the country on the strength of the royal pledge that they would have the protection of the laws of England for their lives and property; and yet they persevered in their disobedience.

Of their tyranny there is no need to speak. The bare recital of the facts as given must carry conviction. In disregard of the instructions to permit liberty of speech and of voting to members of the Council, they held the Council in a state of fear by the dismissal of members who ventured to suggest courses of action distasteful to the governor.

When Carleton returned to Quebec with the Quebec Act in his hands, he met the discontent of his countrymen, not by a disclosure of facts, which should have allayed that feeling, but by treating as rebels and disloyal those who justifiably entertained a sense of wrong, and he bemoaned the weakness which had allowed him to recommend the English criminal laws with the writ of Habeas Corpus. His remedy for the situation was the re-introduction of the French criminal law, with its *lettres de cachet*, which would give him an uncontrolled hand in suppressing the disaffection his arrogant silence had done most to foment.

It has been customary to excuse or even justify Carleton's course by pointing out that he was on the spot, and therefore better able to judge as to the line of action proper to pursue than the government in England. Well, Carleton had three years and more of absolute power, and, with the record of his actions before us, during the period beginning with his return in September, 1774, there are few people, we imagine, who would be of opinion that he had made a conspicuously wise use of his power.

But a fallacy lurks in the assumption that the man on the spot

is best qualified to determine how to deal with a difficult situation. He has his advantages, but he also has his drawbacks. He is in a position to gain first-hand knowledge of the facts of the situation, but he has acquired his knowledge under circumstances that are apt to hamper him in coming to a conclusion as to the best means of dealing with them. In the process of obtaining the information, he himself becomes involved. He loses detachment. His passions and prejudices are aroused, particularly if he be a governor who has definite plans, which are in danger of being frustrated by opposition. All this is true of a civilian governor, who has some knowledge or instinct for the government of a community, accustomed to the freedom assured by a constitution like that of Great Britain. Much more is it true of a governor whose training has been essentially military, and who has been accustomed to govern by the word of command, instead of by the arts of management and conviction. Opposition arouses in him an impatience which passes into resentment, and which darkens good counsel.

The government was well aware of these defects in a military man, but it had no option under the circumstances. In the position of affairs, the administration of the province required to be in the hands of a man who was capable of providing for its defence, whatever his shortcomings might be as a civil governor. The only thing the government could do to counteract any ill results of these shortcomings, was to provide him with a body of instructions for his guidance. These instructions were prepared by men of much experience and political insight. If the governor found himself confronted by a situation in which it seemed to him inexpedient to follow his instructions, his duty was to report the facts to the Home government, providing, if necessary, for any emergency that required to be dealt with at once. If Carleton had pursued this course, leaving the responsibility where the greater political wisdom was to be found, he would not have left a stain on a record in many respects highly distinguished.

A question that inevitably crops up is as to the reasons that led Carleton to adopt the course he pursued so perseveringly. The reason usually suggested is his unwillingness to offend the Canadians, by the adoption of any part of the English law, beyond the English criminal law. But we must distinguish. It was not from any good will he bore to the *habitant* that he was tempted to deviate from the line prescribed by his instructions. Before the year 1775 was many months old, he had as ill an opinion of the *habitant* as he had of the British merchant. After an expres-

sion of satisfaction at their appreciation of the favours bestowed upon them by the Quebec Act, he turned on them for their hesitation to rise to the height of his expectation that they would hasten to the defence of the country. They had become, he declared, undisciplined and disobedient, and he makes the contemptuous observation that "there is nothing to fear from them while we are in a state of prosperity, and nothing to hope from them when in distress."

When Finlay pleaded in Council for measures that would relieve the *habitant* from the oppressions of the captains of militia, by giving them the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ordinances by which they were governed, and by regulating the *corvée* work demanded of them by the captains of militia, Carleton looked at him so blackly that Finlay had to beg that he might not suffer from the governor's disfavour.

There was but one class in the community which was allowed to bask unremittingly in Carleton's good graces. The gloom which overspread his letters as he described the disloyalty of the British-born, and the indiscipline and ingratitude of the *habitant*, was always relieved when he wrote of the good disposition, and zeal for the service of the Crown, which characterized the seigniors. On them he depended for the restoration of stability in the country.[1] The *habitants*, in the ten years in which British liberty prevailed, had in a manner emancipated themselves, and time would be required to bring them to their ancient habits of obedience and discipline. With the assistance of a military force supporting the civil authority, they might again be reduced to that state of deference and obedience, which they had formerly paid their ancient government. With the power and influence of the seigniors re-established, all would be well, though it were to be wished that the French system could be restored in its completeness, for there were, he said, great merits in the French criminal law, with the power it placed in the hands of the governor.

As the pivot of the social system which Carleton aimed at restoring, the seigniors must not be alienated, whatever else might be involved. The seigniors would not have trial by jury,[2] which was the essential feature in the English commercial laws; and this is the true explanation of Carleton's course.

WILLIAM SMITH

[1] Carleton to Gage, Can. Arch., Q. 11, p. 290; Carleton to Dartmouth, Q. 11, p. 184; Carleton to Germain, Q. 13, p. 96.

[2] Hey to Lord Chancellor, Can. Arch., Q. 12, p. 203; Finlay to Nepean, Q. 28, p. 306.

THE FIRST CANADIAN WAR-TIME PROHIBITION MEASURE

WHEN the United States declared war on Great Britain in 1812, many of the farming class in Canada were called to the colours in the militia to defend their country—with the result that the production of grain in the colony was diminished in 1813 and 1814. The scarcity was to a certain extent counterbalanced by the flight to the United States of traitors, a large proportion of whom had come from that place, and also of some American citizens. When in 1813 a portion of the Niagara frontier was taken possession of by the enemy, many of the inhabitants of that district, disaffected to the Crown, joined the American forces, and some of these left crops of grain almost ready for harvesting. John Beverley Robinson,[1] the acting attorney-

[1] Although but just of age, still under articles, and not yet called to the Bar by the Law Society of Upper Canada, John Beverley Robinson was appointed acting Attorney-General of Upper Canada on the death of John Macdonell from wounds received at the Battle of Queenston Heights, October, 1812. He owed this extraordinary promotion to his friend, Mr. Justice Powell, who had been from boyhood a close and intimate friend of the new Administrator, Sir Roger Sheaffe. D'Arcy Boulton, the Solicitor-General, who was entitled to the promotion, was then a prisoner in France. On his return from captivity he became Attorney-General, and Robinson succeeded him as Solicitor-General; when Boulton was elevated to the Bench, Robinson became Attorney-General, and this office he filled until he, too, received promotion and became Chief Justice of Upper Canada. It has not, I think, been noticed that Robinson practised at the Bar for more than two years before he was called to the Bar by the Law Society of Upper Canada. The Law Society Act of 1797 allowed the judges to admit to practice members of the Bar of other British possessions; but prohibited from practice all persons except those so called and those called by the Law Society. In 1812 it had been found impracticable to get together a quorum of the Benchers of the Law Society to call to the Bar those who were entitled. The Court of King's Bench, November 11, 1812, notwithstanding the statute, called upon Dr. William Warren Baldwin, the Treasurer of the Law Society, "being a resident practitioner . . . to produce the Books of the Society and report to the court the names of the students entitled by the time of their admission to be called if there was present a quorum of Benchers and to show cause why they should not respectively be called to the Bar without such presentation." The Books were produced in court, November 14, 1812, and the "following gentlemen were admitted Barristers of this Honourable Court:

general, was directed by the Administrator and Commander of the Forces, General de Rottenburg, to report the facts to Chief Justice Thomas Scott, Chairman of the Committee of the Executive Council; and he did so. The Committee took speedy action. Naturally the General thought the military should take charge, but the Council advised against committing to any military authority the measures proposed, and advised the issue of special commissions to selected Justices of the Peace in the Districts in which the lands were situated, "to report cases, make necessary arrangements for the preservation of the grain, to appreciate its value and receive and answer any claims that may arise by reason of the execution of their powers."[1]

While the Committee were all agreed on the steps to be taken, it was recognized that there was no common or statute law which could be applied to effect the desired result; and consequently the Administrator of the Government was recommended to act in his capacity of Commander of the Forces in Upper Canada.[2] He did so; and the several commissioners were instructed that when proof was laid before them of treasonable adhesion to the enemy, the evidence should be preserved and the informants bound over to give testimony to support indictments which it was intended should be laid at the next Court of Oyer and Terminer in the District. These proceedings caused the flight of more traitors, open or veiled, and had some effect in reducing the scarcity of grain. But, of course, the effect was not very marked; another plan much more successful—and to us more interesting—is now to be noted.

Upper Canada until about the middle of the nineteenth century was perhaps the most drunken country in the world; and whiskey made from wheat was the universal beverage. This liquor was much like the *whiskey blanc* of the province of Quebec; it was

Jonas Jones, Esquire, George Ridout, John B. Robinson, Christopher Alexander Hagerman." Of these the first and fourth became justices of the Court of King's Bench, the second Judge of a District Court, and the third Chief Justice of the Province. This proceeding was wholly *ultra vires* and irregular: those thus called afterwards regularized their standing by being called to the Bar by the Law Society in Hilary Term, 1815, when a quorum of Benchers was obtained.

[1] This and other quotations are from the original papers in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa (Sundries, Upper Canada). The quotation is from a letter from Chief Justice Scott to de Rottenburg, from York, July 18, 1813.

[2] See letter from Chief Justice Scott to Edward McMahon, Secretary to the Administrator, July 22, 1813. Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe had been Administrator from October, 1812, until June 18, 1813, when de Rottenburg succeeded him.

raw, fiery, and potent, and had the great recommendation of being very cheap.[1] Distilleries were planted broadcast over the land, and drove a roaring trade; distillers must needs have grain and they offered high prices for it, thereby increasing the price while they reduced the supply for purposes of food. There was also a little exportation of grain from the Eastern District to Lower Canada—not enough, however, to be a real peril.

In the second session of the sixth provincial parliament, called by Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe and sitting from February 25 to March 13, 1813, the matter of saving grain was earnestly discussed; and at length an Act was passed authorizing the person administering the government of the province to prohibit the exportation of grain (and other provisions) and to restrain the distillation of spirituous liquors from grain.[2] The legislation was drastic and, if acted upon, was likely to have an effect which had not been borne in mind by the Administrator and Legislators—it was likely to put an end to distilling altogether, and would thus deprive the troops of their accustomed liquor. No person had yet advanced the proposition that fighting men could get along without alcoholic stimulants, even if some weaklings might be forced, and some hypocrites might pretend to do so. De Rottenburg consulted Robinson,[3] telling him of the absolute necessity of distilling whiskey for the soldiers; but Robinson was obliged to advise that "unfortunately the Legislature have put it out of his power, so that he cannot license any particular person to distil for the Government, neither can he do it indirectly in any particular case by remitting the penalty because half of it belongs to the informer."

On July 24, 1813, Robinson wrote to the General's secretary

[1] My father, the late Walter Riddell, told me that at the first election after his arrival in Upper Canada, the General Election of 1834, at the polling booth at Gore's Landing, Rice Lake, there stood at the door a barrel of whiskey with the head staved in and a tin dipper for all to help themselves. In the late 50's and the early 60's I myself carried a whiskey bottle round to the men in the harvest field, accompanied by a brother with a pail of water in which oatmeal was mixed. It was in the 50's that the part of the province immediately north of Lake Ontario began to feel the effects of the temperance movement, and Lodges of Sons of Temperance and of Good Templars became numerous, with most beneficial effects upon drinking habits.

[2] The Act is (1813) 53 Geo. III, C. 3 (U.C.). It was temporary, but was renewed for a year by (1814) Geo. III, C. 8 (U.C.), and finally expired March 15, 1815. Another temporary Act prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquor to Indians was passed in 1813, 53 Geo. III, C. 5 (U.C.).

[3] John Beverley Robinson to McMahon, York, July 24, 1813.

that, while he had put up proclamations in all the Districts of the province, it was for the General to consider whether it was advisable to continue the prohibition "or whether the quantity of grain in the country will render it prudent to recall it by a subsequent Proclamation which he has it in his power to issue whenever he pleases. . . . Now not a gallon of whiskey or other spirits can be distilled and it becomes important to consider whether the army have other means of supply."

The suggestion contained in this letter was promptly acted upon; a fresh proclamation was issued withdrawing the prohibition—and the former trouble revived at once. On November 1, 1813, Robinson wrote to General de Rottenburg submitting "the expediency whether the state of the army will *now* allow a general prohibition of the distillation of grain. The demand for whiskey enables distillers in this part of the country [Robinson wrote from Toronto, then called York] to offer from 12 to 15 shillings, New York currency[1] [$1.50 to $1.87½] per bushel for wheat, the natural effect of which will be to raise very considerably the price of flour, an indispensable article and of greater consumption. I suppose the same evil exists in other parts of the Province and it would be well if, consistently with the supply of the troops, a remedy could be provided by a total prohibition." A full supply having been laid in for the troops, the General issued a proclamation forbidding until March 1, 1814, the distillation of any grain.

On March 5, 1814, Robinson wrote to Captain Loring, secretary to the new Administrator, Sir Gordon Drummond, calling his attention to the fact that the prohibitory proclamation had expired, March 1, and added that if it were intended to continue the prohibition he should be informed of the time to be limited in the new proclamation. But the prohibition was permitted to lapse, and we hear no more of it: there was no government to be assailed or voted against, and the first Canadian war-time prohibition measure passed into the limbo of oblivion.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

[1] The New York shilling. "York shilling" or "Yorker" was 12½ cents, the York pound, $2.50. In my boyhood near Cobourg the ordinary method of estimating prices was by York shillings: there was no coin for the York shilling, but the English sixpence passed as such. The use of this method of counting began to wane about sixty years ago and has now almost completely disappeared.

A PLEA FOR A CANADIAN NATIONAL LIBRARY

NEARLY ten years ago the writer made a plea, through the *University Magazine*, for the establishment of a National Library in Canada. He pointed out that this country, with all its boasted educational facilities, lacks the keystone of a broad and efficient system of education. Under our constitution education is left to the Provinces, but nothing in the constitution prevents the creation of a National Library;—not a mere collection of books gathering dust upon the shelves, but a living force, functioning for the good of all the people. We are proud of our intellectual heritage from Great Britain and France, but we forget that our mother countries possess the greatest national libraries the world has ever seen. Every country in Europe, not merely the great nations, but the smaller ones as well, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Norway, Sweden, Portugal and Finland, have built up national collections of books, administered in such a way that they have become real factors in the education of the people. Each of the South American republics possesses its Biblioteca Nacional. So does Mexico, and Cuba, and even the despised little Central American republics of Costa Rica and Honduras. Every other part of our own Empire has its national library, India, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. Japan has a splendid collection, admirably organized and freely accessible to all the people. Canada stands alone among the nations—well, not quite alone, she ranks with Siam and Abyssinia. None of the three has a National Library.

The plea for a Canadian National Library aroused at the time a great deal of interest throughout the Dominion. It was taken up and supported editorially by practically every important newspaper in the country from Halifax to Victoria. Canadian writers and educationalists urged the immediate establishment of such an institution. The Royal Society of Canada adopted unanimously a resolution requesting the Dominion government to take action. So did the various Library Associations in Canada, and a number

of historical, literary, and scientific societies. But, although the Prime Minister and several of his colleagues expressed their interest in the project, nothing was done. Other matters, more pressing from the point of view of a practical politician, constantly intervened. Perhaps antagonistic influences were quietly at work. In any event, the movement for a National Library, after gaining a good deal of momentum throughout the country, broke harmlessly at the capital. It has never been abandoned by those who had it at heart. At times, before the war, the prospects looked more or less favourable; but after 1914 it was definitely put aside, like a great many other important matters, until the world should emerge from its period of madness. To-day the people of Canada are grappling with the vital problem of reconstruction. And to-day one may very well ask them to consider if they can afford any longer to do without a national institution which, properly administered, might contribute in innumerable ways to the building up of the nation.

It may help to clarify the situation to describe very briefly what the smaller nations of Europe—those that compare roughly with Canada in population and wealth—have done in this direction. The National Library of Holland, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek at The Hague, contains considerably over half a million volumes, housed in a building admirably combining architectural dignity with the practical needs of such an institution. The library is open the year round to all students who may wish to take advantage of its facilities; and books may not only be used in the building, but may be borrowed for use anywhere in the country. Residents of The Hague may keep books for a period of two weeks; students elsewhere in Holland are allowed a month.

The people of Switzerland, in their Stadt Bibliotheek at Berne, possess an equally well-organized and accessible National Library of a quarter of a million books. A resident in the most remote hamlet may send a request to the capital for any work he needs, and if it is available, he gets it by mail, without any troublesome formalities, or any expense other than the actual postage. He may borrow as many as six volumes at a time.

What is said of the National Libraries of Holland and Switzerland applies pretty generally to those of the three Scandinavian countries, and to the National Libraries at Athens, Lisbon and Brussels. The splendid Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels contained over six hundred thousand volumes before the war. It is not known just what the situation is to-day.

The Library of Congress at Washington furnishes, however, the most helpful illustration of what may be accomplished by a National Library. At first sight it may appear to correspond to our own Library of Parliament, but in fact it is a radically different institution. The Library of Congress embraces three organizations in one: a Legislative Library, a National Library and a National Archives. It is a rare combination, one that only the genius of the present Librarian of Congress has made practicable, and one the ultimate wisdom of which he himself has questioned. In most countries these three institutions are quite distinct. We in Canada already have two of them, the Library of Parliament and the Dominion Archives. We still lack the third.

It has sometimes been suggested that the Library of Parliament is in effect a National Library. It is not, in any sense of the word. It is a Legislative Library, pure and simple. It was created to serve the needs of Parliament, not those of the public. None but Members of Parliament and Senators have any rights whatever within its walls. Its functions could unquestionably be enlarged, as have those of the Library of Congress, so as to make it in some sense at least a National Library; but not in the present building with its very limited space and with the present very inadequate staff. The advice of the Librarian of Congress, as the result of his own experience, is to keep the National and Legislative Libraries apart; and everyone who has really studied the question will agree that he is right. Let the Library of Parliament continue to fulfil the functions for which it was created; let the Dominion Archives continue its invaluable work in the collection and preservation of historical material; and let us have in addition to these a National Library.

To return to our illustration of the Library of Congress. What has been accomplished by and through this most efficient institution for the people of the United States can—allowing of course for differences of degree—be done by a Canadian National Library for the people of Canada. The Librarian of Congress recognizes that in any one country there should be a variety of libraries to meet the needs of different sections of the people. There are, to start with, the public libraries, themselves varying enormously in size and complexity according to the nature of the community they serve. Then there are university and school libraries, equally diverse in size, but not so much so in character. There are also kinds of special libraries, legal, medical, commercial, historical, scientific, municipal, legislative, etc. Beyond these

again are what one may call the regional libraries—state libraries in the United States, and provincial libraries in Canada. And, finally, the National Library. Each of these attempts to meet the book needs of its own particular constituency, be it large or small, simple or complex. But all, except the last, are more or less limited in scope. Each excludes certain books, or certain classes of books, as unnecessary. Only one library may properly aim to be universal in scope, and that is the National Library. No National Library has ever contained, or ever will contain, all the books that have been published, but each may at least hope to bring together all the books that have been published in or about its own country and as much as possible of the literatures of other countries. Here, then, is one of the objects of a National Library—a last court of appeal for the man who needs a very rare, or very costly, or out-of-the-way book. There are more of these than most people imagine, and only the National Library can afford to collect them.

It is not enough that a National Library should contain the largest and most comprehensive collection of books in the country. It must also classify and catalogue them, provide bibliographies and other keys to its treasures. It must have upon its staff, or within reach, specialists capable of answering inquiries from all parts of the country as to what material exists on any particular subject, where it is, how it may be had, how most effectively it may be used. It must also, as far as practicable, carry its books to the people rather than force them to come to it. And in the broadest sense it must make itself a national centre of helpfulness to institutions and individuals from one end of the country to the other.

This is the sort of thing the Library of Congress has achieved across the line, and this is the sort of thing we can accomplish in Canada, if a sufficient number of Canadians will take the matter up and convince the government that they are in earnest.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE DEATH OF POUTRINCOURT

The Baron de Poutrincourt, according to Marc Lescarbot, the faithful chronicler of his *hauts faits et gestes* in the new world, met his death on his return to France in 1615 at the retaking of Méry-sur-Seine, and "in a manner which everyone knows."[1] In an epitaph drawn up by Lescarbot, this is explained to mean that "having been specially summoned at the moment of the fresh troubles in France and ordered by his Prince to take Méry in Champagne, he fulfilled his task, but in the struggle for military fame, pierced by many wounds, he fell in the month of December, 1615, in his fifty-eighth year, slain by a blow in the breast dealt by an impious Pisander."[1] Relying upon this epitaph, the late Abbé Ferland stated that Poutrincourt "died gloriously in the breach,"[3] while Parkman merely asserted that "happier in his death than in his life, he fell, sword in hand."[2] Parkman was of opinion, however, that Poutrincourt "was killed immediately after taking the town by a treacherous shot."[3] Nothing further

[1] Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1617, p. 693.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 694. Pisander was one of the principal chiefs of the aristocratic government at Athens who abolished the popular government in 411 B.C., and established the oligarchy of the Four Hundred. Cf. the Champlain Society's edition of Lescarbot, Vol. III, Toronto, 1914, p. 74.

[3] Abbé J. B. A. Ferland, *Cours d'histoire du Canada*, 1ère partie, 2ème édit., Québec, 1882, p. 87: "Il reçut ordre du roi de prendre Méry: mais, frappé mortellement au moment où il s'en rendait maître, il mourut glorieusement sur la brèche." Cf. also *Nobiliaire universel de France ou recueil général des généalogies historiques des maisons nobles*, tome XIV, Paris, 1818, p. 27: "A son retour en France, le Roi le nomma gouverneur de Méry-sur-Seine, et ce fut en défendant cette place, qu'il périt glorieusement le 5 décembre 1615."

[4] *Pioneers of France in the New World*, London, 1899, p. 329.

[5] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, note 2. Cf. De la Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, III, Paris, 1864, p. 204: "Enfin il termina glorieusement une vie . . . ayant été tué le 5 décembre 1615, en défendant pour le Roi, Méry-sur-Seine, dont il était Gouverneur."

has hitherto been known of the manner in which Poutrincourt met his death.

Three pamphlets of the time in the National Library at Paris give a more detailed account of Poutrincourt's death, and from a study of these it seems clear that instead of meeting his death in defending the town, Poutrincourt was killed in an endeavour to forestall his own commander-in-chief in receiving the surrender of the place. Poutrincourt met his death in fact in a mêlée with his own party.

The ink of the treaty of Ste. Menehould of May 14, 1614, was scarcely dry when the departure of the court from Paris in the middle of August, 1615, to meet Anne of Austria at the Spanish frontier and to hand over the Princess Elizabeth as the future wife of Philip IV, offered the Prince of Condé too good an opportunity to resist. He at once moved out of Picardy, took Château-Thierry, and surprised Epernay and Vitry-le-François. The Seine, however, still barred his passage towards Paris and the south.[6] After unsuccessful attempts at Bray and Pont-sur-Seine, two small places near Nogent-sur-Seine, he moved up towards Troyes. Hearing that Méry-sur-Seine, some twenty miles west of Troyes, had only a small garrison, Condé resolved to take it. The place fell after a short investment; and Condé then brought his army across the Seine, and leaving in Méry only a small garrison of two hundred men under the Sieur de Lameth, set out for Paris and the Loire.[7] This was in the middle of October, 1615.[8]

[1] B. Zeller, *Louis XIII, Marie de Médicis, chef du Conseil*, Paris, 1898, p. 191: "Le prince de Condé avait établi son quartier général en Picardie, et se proposait pour objectif soit d'occuper Paris, soit de passer la Seine et la Loire et de fermer à l'armée royale le chemin de la Capitale."

[2] *La reprise de la ville de Méry sur Seine, sur Mr le Prince, par les sieurs Marquis de la Vieuville, d'Andelot & Poitrincour*, Paris, MDCXV, pp. 3-5: "Au mois d'Octobre dernier passé, Monsieur le Prince de Condé . . . apres avoir surpris les villes d'Espernay & de Vitry . . . & ayant espié de toutes parts les occasions de passer la Seine, tantost à Bray, une autre fois à Pont sur Seine . . . remonte pour ce suiet iusques à quatre lieues pres de Troyes . . . & ayant eu advis qu'en la ville de Méry sur Seine, il y avoit fort peu de resistance, se resout de l'assieger, & de faict l'ayant faict investir de toutes parts . . . elle se rendit finallement à luy . . . Luy passé & son armee estant au delà de Seine, delaisse en ladite ville de Méry deux cens hommes de guerre sous la conduite d'un chef pour garder ladicte place & passage de Seine fort important & commode pour repasser audit pays de Champaigne si la necessité de ses affaires le requeroit."

[3] Henri Martin, *Histoire de France*, tome XI, Paris, 1858, p. 94.

No sooner had Condé departed, however, than the Marquis de La Vieuville, the King's Lieutenant at Rheims, set about retaking the places in which Condé had left garrisons. Neuchâtel having easily fallen, La Vieuville treated with the inhabitants of Troyes for the recapture of Méry, the garrison of which place was causing them considerable inconvenience. It was agreed that they should supply him with four pieces of cannon, as well as with ammunition and other things necessary.[1] The garrisons of Provins, Bray, and Nogent were also ordered to send help,[2] and several gentlemen of the neighbourhood offered their services. Among these was Poutrincourt, whose barony of St. Just lay only about eight miles north-west of Méry. On Thursday, December 3, Poutrincourt set out with some three hundred followers to join the troops from Provins and Nogent at Mesgrigny, which lies on the south side of the Seine opposite Méry.[3] On this side the town is lower than on the north bank, and is approached by a wide causeway with a bridge over the Seine. It was over this causeway indeed that Condé had brought his own army, and the garrison of Méry was intended to keep open this line of retreat should necessity demand a return to Picardy. M. de St. Sepul-

[1] *Description de tout ce qui s'est passé en Champagne depuis le partement du Roy*, etc., Paris, MDCXV, pp. 6-8: "Monsieur le marquis de la Vieuville . . . s'achemine à Neuf-Chastel, où la garnison se rend à sa discretion. . . . Puis s'achemina vers Troyes, d'où ayant fait recognoistre la garnison de Mery sur Seine, qui incommodoit grandement la liberté des Troyens, il se porte à Troye, & traitte avec les habitans pour reprendre Mery. Auquel effect ils luy fournissent quatre pièces de Canon, attirail & munitions." Cf. the Champlain Society's edition of Lescarbot, vol. III, pp. 536-538, where this portion of the pamphlet has been reprinted with a translation.

[2] *La prise et capitulation de la ville de Mery sue Seine*, Paris, MDCXV, p. 3: "& ont parlé aux Capitaines des garnisons de Provins & Nogent, pour avoir de leurs soldats ce qu'ils pourroient pour le service du Roy à ladite prise de Mery, à quoy les Capitaines se sont accordez, & ont donné la moitié & plus de leurs soldats soubs la Conduicte d'un Lieutenant de la garnison de Nogent, avec plusieurs volontaires des habitans de Nogent." Cf. vol. III of the Champlain Society's edition of Lescarbot, pp. 532-535, where this pamphlet has been reprinted with a translation.

[3] *Description*, etc., p. 8: "Plusieurs Gentils-hommes & autres personnes de bonne volonté s'offrirent à l'assister & l'accompagner en son dessaing, & entre autres les sieurs de Sainct Sepulchre & de Poitrincourt, lequel Poitrincourt luy amena environ trois cens soldats & Paysans, ausquels ledit sieur Marquis ordonna d'aller avec les Garnisons de Bray & Nogent attaquer la basse ville ou faux-bourg qui est de l'un des costez de la riviere, consignant à ceste fin deux pieces de Canon audit sieur de sainct Sepulchre." *La prise et capitulation*, etc., pp. 3-4: "& partirent tous Ieudy dernier bien-deliberez pour aller à Rouvilly . . . & ce trouver au rendez-vous avec les gents desdits sieurs de Poitrincourt & Sainct Sepulchre au village de Maigrigny, qui est au bout de la chaussee de Mery."

chre, another volunteer, with men from Provins and Nogent, took possession of this part of the town without difficulty, as the garrison made no attempt to defend it.[1] They then brought two of the cannon furnished by La Vieuville to play against the higher part of the town. It was their design apparently to try and get possession of the place, of which Poutrincourt had once been governor, before the troops from Troyes had arrived.[2] In this, however, they were unsuccessful.

La Vieuville with the other two cannon and seven or eight hundred men marched out from Troyes on Thursday, December 3, and following the north bank of the Seine took up his position on the opposite side of the town to Poutrincourt and the men from Provins, Bray, and Nogent.[3] On this side Méry was defended by a rampart and a moat, but the latter was dry and the walls were in reality not particularly strong.[4] After a few shots had been fired at one of the towers, therefore, the garrison agreed to an armistice to treat of the conditions for surrender.[5]

[1] *La prise et capitulation*, etc., pp. 5-6: "la basse-Ville est du costé de nostre chemin . . . en laquelle ledit sieur de Poitrincourt ce logea sans resistance avec lesdits sieurs de Rouvilly, S. Sepulchre, & les Garnisons de Nogent & Provins, Car Monsieur de Lamet ne faisoit garder ladite basse-Ville."

[2] *La prise et capitulation*, etc., p. 4: "Mais ceux-cy desdits sieurs de Poitrincourt, Sainct Sepulchre, & Rouvilly, On tient qu'ils avoient envie de surprendre la ville auparavant que les troupes de Troyes fussent venuës avec leur Canon, c'estoit le dessein dudit Poitrincourt, afin de s'en rendre Gouverneur, comme il a esté autrefois"; and also p. 6: "Ledit de Poitrincourt se deffiant des grandes trouppes qui estoyent de l'autre costé, avoit envie d'y entrer, & se rendre le Maistre." Cf. also *Quatriesme tome du Mercure françois*, Paris, 1617, p. 381: "On a escrit que Poitrincourt ayant dessein se faire Gouverneur de Mery, comme il l'avoit esté autresfois durant la Ligue," etc.

[3] *Description*, etc., p. 8: "Puis luy [La Vieuville] conduisant les autres deux pieces restantes desdites quatre, sortit de la ville [de Troyes] accompagné de sept ou huict cens bons compagnons Troyens, & avec ses trouppes prenant l'autre costé de l'eau, se rend devant Mery." Cf. also *La Prise*, etc., pp. 4-5: "Mon frere qui est demeurant a Troyes m'escrivit au vray de Ieudy dernier, ce qu'on faisoit audit Troyes pour ledit siège de Mery, disant que ledit iour de Ieudy il estoit sorty dudit Troyes quatre pièces de Canon avec des munitions pour tirer cinq cens coups, soubs la conduite des Eschevins & plus de mil cinq cents hommes de ladite Ville aussi . . . avec Monsieur le Marquis de la Vieuville avec ses troupes, qui est Lieutenant de Roy du costé de Rheims . . . & tous ce trouverent Vendredy dernier audit Mery."

[4] *La Prise*, etc., p. 5: "La Ville qu'on appelle la haute-Ville est du costé de Sainct Just close de murailles & fossez ou il n'y a point d'eau, murailles qui ne vallent gueires. C'est le costé ou estoient les trouppes de Troyes avec le Canon." All that remains to-day is a rue des Remparts.

[5] *Description*, etc., p. 8: "Mery, qu'il fait sommer & saluer par le Canon qu'il fit iouër contre une tour, ce que voyans les assiegez, commandez par le sieur de Lamestz demandant à parlementer."

A short parley took place at which it was agreed that the garrison should march out the next morning with arms and baggage.[1] Notice of this was at once sent to Poutrincourt and the men from Provins and Nogent who were attacking the south side of the town.[2] Poutrincourt, however, in pursuance of his plan to be first into Méry continued his bombardment; but when two of the garrison had been killed by this fire, La Vieuville had himself conveyed across the river and gave formal orders for the firing in that quarter to cease.[3] Though Poutrincourt and his people obeyed, they that night held a council of war at which Poutrincourt declared it to be his intention to die rather than let another take possession of Méry, of which he was the lawful governor.[4] It was thereupon agreed among his followers that next morning at the moment of surrender a sudden assault should be made from the lower town.

The next morning, Saturday, December 5, Lameth, Condé's commander, drew up his troops and at the moment agreed upon threw open the gates to admit La Vieuville and the men from Troyes. While these were entering the town from the north, sounds of fighting were heard on the opposite side of the river, and before long Poutrincourt appeared, a naked sword in one hand

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9: "& apres plueieurs discours, accordant de rendre la ville au sieur Marquis, & en sortir le lendemain matin cinquiesme de ce mois, sans en emporter autre chose que leurs armes & bagage seulement." Cf. also *La Prise*, etc., p. 6: "La composition dudit sieur de Lamet se faict avec Monsieur de la Vieu-ville, Lieutenant de Roy, sans le sceu dudit de Poitrincourt & les autres. Assavoir que ledit de Lamet, & ses gens sortiroient avec armes et bagage sauvez tambour battant, & faict la ceremonie gardee en telle affaire."

[2] *Description*, etc., p. 9: "Le sieur Marquis advertit de la Capitulation desdits sieurs de Sainct Sepulchre & Poitrincourt, qui estoient logez en la basse ville que l'ennemy avoit habandonee."

[3] *Ibid., loc. cit.*: "Neantmoins au preiudice de ladite capitulation, Poitrincourt estant la le plus fort faict oiüer le Canon & tue deux des soldats du sieur de Lamets. Pour remedier à ce desordre, le sieur Marquis passe l'eau & faict cesser de tirer, appaise tout & repasse en son quartier, apres les ostages livrez." Cf. however *La Prise*, etc., pp. 6-7: "Ledit sieur de Lamet demande à parler à Monsieur de Rouvilly qui estoit en la basse-ville, il y passe & y estant passé dans un bachot, ledict sieur de Poitrincourt se fascha, son dessein ne reüssissant comme il desiroit."

[4] *Description*, etc., p. 9: "Poitrincourt voyant que les choses prenoient autre train qu'il n'avoit imaginé, tient conseil de nuict, avec ses amis, leur declarant qu'il estoit resolu de mourir ou de se rendre maistre de Méry d'où il se disoit le vray Gouverneur, les priant de le vouloir assister, ce qu'ils luy promirent faire."

and a pistol in the other, crying, "Kill! Kill! Long live Poutrincourt."[1]

Shortly before the hour fixed for the surrender, Poutrincourt had assembled his followers, and calling out, "He who is my friend will follow me," had set off across the river, which was there low, and had entered the higher part of the town at the cry of "Long Live the King and Poutrincourt."[2] His son Jacques de Biencourt and about two hundred men followed him.[3] As the higher part of the town had no walls on that side they entered it without difficulty and soon made their way to the point which La Vieuville's men had reached. Poutrincourt on catching sight of them began to lay about him and soon wounded one of the Marquis's men and killed the man's horse.[4] The Marquis's quartermaster at once went up to Poutrincourt and ordered him in the Marquis's name to retire to his quarters. In a furious rage Poutrincourt replied that he and no one else was the Governor of Méry and again shouted to his men, "Kill them, by heaven, kill them all,"[5] at the same time levelling his pistol at the quartermaster's head. Seeing that Poutrincourt was in earnest the quartermaster in turn called upon his men to shoot; and the fight at once became general. Unfortunately for Poutrincourt,

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10: "Le matin comme le sieur de Lametz & les siens fussent à cheval pour sortir, & que les portes fussent ouvertes, Poitrincourt . . . crians, tue, tue, vive Poitrincourt, luy estant à pied couvert d'un rondache l'espee nuë à la main gauche & le pistolet à la droicte."

[2] *La Prise*, etc., p. 7: "Et estant faché de ceste composition sans luy, dit à ses gens qui m'aymera qui me suyve & passe l'eau à pied luy & ses gents, l'eau n'est grande que iusques au genoux, il s'en va à la haulte-ville, qui n'est fermee de murailles du costé de ladite basse-ville, ains seulement de quelques vaisseaux, entre dedans, disant vive le Roy & Poitrincourt & ces mots, tuë, tuë, sur les gens de Monsieur de la Vieu-ville, qui entroyent tous à cheval, tant gens d'armes que Carabins."

[3] *Description*, etc., pp. 9-10: "Poitrincourt se iette furieusement à celle [porte] du pont, suivy de son fils et d'environ deux cens hommes. Puis s'estant saisi d'icelle porte, prend la Canon & le faict passer en la ville."

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 10: "& avoit donné advis audit sieur Marquis que Poitrincourt avoit quelque mauvais dessaing. Pourquoy le Marquis se trouva à la porte peu après l'ouverture d'icelle, non toutesfois si tost que déjà Poitrincourt & les siens n'en fussent fort proches & tirans plusieurs harquebuzades avoient tué un cheval & blessé un soldat du sieur Marquis."

[5] *Ibid., loc. cit.*: "Vers lequel s'estant advancé le sieur de Halle [*sic pro* La Salle], le priant & luy commandant de la part dudit sieur Marquis qu'il se retirast à son quartier, il respondit furieusement qu'il estoit Gouverneur de Mery & non autre criant, tire, tue mordieu, tuez tout, & ce disant tire son pistolet sur ledit de la Salle Mareschal des Logis de la Compagnie dudit sieur Marquis, lequel voyant cest orgueil, crie aussi de sa part, tue, tue, & à l'instant y eust rude meslee."

however, the men from Provins and Nogent did not second him, but through fear remained drawn up in their ranks.[1] The most astonished people of all were Lameth and his garrison who stood ready to march out and looked on in utter bewilderment.[2] Poutrincourt's men were easily recognizable by their muddy boots, and though they doubtless fought well had no chance against the superior numbers opposed to them.[3] After a short struggle they broke and fled, leaving Poutrincourt and thirty of their number dead in the streets. Young Biencourt and several others were taken prisoners,[4] while of those who fled many were drowned in the river.[5]

When order had once more been restored, Condé's garrison was able to march out, and La Vieuville finally took possession. The town was strengthened and a garrison left, whereupon the troops were sent back whence they had come.[6] On May 30, 1616, Condé agreed to the Peace of Loudun.

Although according to a contemporary "such an act had never been heard of before,"[7] yet a late authority states that Poutrincourt's people set up a cross at the spot where he had fallen, and that this cross continued to exist until the beginning of the nineteenth century under the name of Poutrincourt's Cross.[8]

H. P. BIGGAR

[1] *La Prise*, etc., p. 7: "Les soldats de Nogent & de Provins qui y ont entré tost apres par la porte que ledit de Poitrincourt pensoit qu'ils le seconderoient & autres aussi, se sont tenus en bataille en vne ruë sans bouger, qui ont eu vne peur d'estre taillez en pièces, s'ils se fussent advouez dudit de Poitrincourt, ce qu'ils n'ont pas faict, ains du Regiment de Navarre, c'est ce qui les a sauvez, encores y en a-il qui ont esté devalisez."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 8: "mesme à la veuë dudit sieur de Lamet qui estoit encores dans la ville rangé à vn coing de ruë avec ses gens & son bagage."

[3] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*: "mesmes que ils tastoyent à leurs chausses, si elles estoient mouillees, & les tuoyent, c'estoit poir cognoistre les soldats dudit de Poitrincourt."

[4] *Description*, etc., pp. 10-11: "ou fut ledit Poitrincourt tué avec environ trente des siens, plusieurs blessez . . . le ieune Poitrincourt prisonnier & quelques autres." Cf. also *La prise*, etc., p. 8: "on dict qu'il y en a bien esté tué 100. les autres disoient d'avantage."

[5] *Description*, etc., p. 11: "aucuns s'en fuyans se iettoyent l'vn l'autre dans la rivière & se noyoient."

[6] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*: "Le sieur Marquis . . . laisse garnison en la ville & s'en retourne á Troye ramener son Canon."

[7] *La Prise*, etc., p. 8: "on n'a iamais ouy parler d'un tel fait."

[8] *Nobiliaire universel*, tome XIV, p. 27: "Les soldats qui le chérissaient, firent élever à l'endroit où il perdit la vie, une croix de pierre, qui porte encore à présent [1818] le nom de la *Croix de Poutrincourt*." Cf. La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *op. cit.*, III, 204: "au lieu de tombeau, il fut elevé à l'endroit où il avait été tué, une croix qui subsiste ou qui subsistait encore il n'y a pas longtemps, appellée la Croix de Poutrincourt."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Colonial Tariff Policy of France. By ARTHUR GIRAULT. Edited by CHARLES GIDE. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Division of Economics and History.) Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1916. Pp. ix, 305.

The French Council of Commerce in Relation to American Trade. By ELLA LONN. (The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. vi, no. 2, pp. 192-219.)

The Colonial Tariff Policy of France is a very interesting and valuable contribution, not only to the economic history of France and her colonies, but to the general field of economic history and experience. It affords at once a painstaking and scholarly presentation of the leading historical facts connected with the evolution of French colonial trade policy, and an able critical analysis of the various stages and features of that policy, and its practical consequences. The work is divided into two parts, first, "The Evolution of Colonial Tariff Policy", and second, "The Results of the Colonial Tariff Policy". The first presents an historical sketch of the colonial trade policy of France, covering the whole field of its colonial empire. The second is devoted to the special study of the trade of the individual colonies, chiefly under modern conditions, and the varying effects of the tariff laws and administration with reference to each.

The general conclusion of the author is that neither France nor her colonies have substantially benefited from the restrictive policy which in various forms has prevailed with reference to the trade of the colonies. The prevailing attempts to bring all the colonies, without distinction, within the same tariff laws and regulations is particularly condemned. Little sympathy is afforded to the attitude of a strong element in France, which, while admitting that a freer and broader policy would be more favourable to the local prosperity and development of the individual colonies, yet holds it to be necessary in the national interest to sacrifice the domestic interests of the colonies, notwithstanding the discontents and difficulties which are thereby created. The vigorous criticism of

this attitude, as based on a careful analysis of facts and statistics, will not, of course, be accepted as conclusive by the imperialistic advocates of a restrictive system in the interests of the mother country, but will require a correspondingly able presentation of the case for restriction, to meet the facts and arguments as here set forth.

There is not much space devoted to the mainland colonies of America, including Canada. As is pointed out, Canadian trade with France was remarkably small in proportion to the size of the colony, and to its importance in the imperial struggle with Great Britain. During the period of the French possession of Canada, its trade with the mother country did not amount to as much as that of several of the West Indian islands. This had much to do with the popular conception of the worthlessness of the colony, and the gibes launched against it by the wits of Paris. The fact is that the natural resources of Canada were such as to provide the greater part of the necessaries of life within its own borders, and as these, apart from furs, paralleled products of France itself, there was little anxiety to import them, and there was a correspondingly small market for French goods in return. The West Indies, however, produced little for their own sustenance, while their chief products, such as sugar, coffee, cocoa, etc., were in urgent demand in France and much prized in foreign trade. Even the smallest of the islands, therefore, had an exceptionally large export and import trade, which the mother country was anxious to monopolize.

In the chapter on the *ancien régime*, reference is made to the very general and very natural policy of granting monopolies of colonial trade to special associations and companies. While the failure of practically all the earlier ones is recorded, yet the author is inclined to agree with the German economist Roscher that these grants to the companies were justified, on the ground that the danger and risks of colonial trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were too great to be borne by private individuals. As a matter of fact, however, private traders were, as a rule, the pioneers of nearly all colonial trade, and that, too, not by reason of national encouragement and assistance, but in spite of an entire lack of encouragement and in the face of the very monopolies granted to the favoured companies and the most drastic laws and penalties against the private traders engaging in colonial trade. Cartier found himself in competition with numerous independent traders as far up the St. Lawrence as Montreal; and Champlain, in his attempts to establish a Canadian colony on a really solid and relatively self-supporting basis, found himself equally hampered by the activities of the interlopers or free-traders, and the indifference and want of assistance on the part of those who had been granted a monopoly of the trade of the colony as an

inducement to assist in its establishment. Later on, however, the author recognizes the futility of the company monopolies for the development of trade, or the promotion of real colonial enterprise.

The basis of Miss Lonn's article on the French Council of Commerce is, of course, closely related to the substance of the volume on the Colonial Tariff Policy. It is, however, one of those highly specialized, and in itself highly isolated, studies which prevents one from drawing any general conclusions without extensive reference to masses of collateral material, affecting both France and her colonies, of which almost no hint is given in the article itself. The study is simply a detailed compilation, very carefully and conscientiously executed, of the records of the Council in dealing with trade matters brought to its attention. Naturally there is little indication in the records themselves as to whether the conclusions and decisions arrived at, or the advice offered, was or was not accepted. It would be quite as profitable to draw conclusions relative to the actual development of British trade and shipping from a perusal of the British Navigation Acts, as it would be to draw from the records of the Council of Commerce any reliable conclusions as to the actual course of French colonial trade. Taken, however, in connection with documents presenting the actual course of colonial trade in the individual colonies, these isolated statements begin to have an interest and a meaning otherwise indeterminable. When thus compared, we learn how utterly futile many of the decisions and recommendations made remained—some by reason of being overridden by superior authority, others from being practically ignored by the local authorities required to carry them out, and some through being set at defiance by traders and officials who found it to their immediate interest to evade their requirements, especially as the Council had no direct authority to intervene in the affairs of the distant colonies. Other requirements, again, were duly executed, either because they happened to coincide with the immediate interest of those in authority, or because the opportunities for evasion and the benefits to be secured by it were equally inadequate.

The period covered by the records of the Council, so far as presented by the author, extend from 1700 to 1734. In this period there is very little that materially affects Canada, and the regulations and decisions of the Council were but slightly regarded in the trade of New France. Most of the really important matters dealt with had reference to the West Indies and the rivalries of the ports and traders of France itself, in connection with the foreign and colonial trade.

As already indicated, the article will be found useful by those who have at hand the collateral material to which it may be applied.

ADAM SHORTT

Mélanges Historiques. Etudes éparses et inédites de BENJAMIN SULTE. Vol. v. Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1920. Pp. 126.

M. SULTE's fifth volume contains ten essays on divers subjects, together with two briefer notes, the latter printed in English. Some of the essays are concerned with matters of genealogy, and hence are not of very broad interest; but three interesting chapters are devoted to the system of card money, the exodus of 1760-1763, and the milling industry of the seigneurial period.

The essay on the *Monnaie de Carte* adds nothing to what Professor Adam Shortt published on this subject in the Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association many years ago, unless it be the claim that the card money issued by Jacques de Meulles was the "first paper money ever used as a substitute for silver currency by the sons of Japeth." The table of prices which M. Sulte has compiled is interesting. In 1665 a musket cost sixteen francs, a pistol four francs. A bushel of wheat, in 1667, was worth only forty sous. A workman in 1670 received from thirty to forty sous per day; the pay of a soldier was about 150 francs per year.

In his discussion of *Le Moulin banal* M. Sulte gives an array of extracts from the ordinances and other official records, but does not attempt any survey of the milling industry in its economic aspects. These official decrees amply prove that the right of mill banality was not used oppressively by the seigneurs. The chief difficulty with the whole system was that the seigneurial mills were ill-equipped and turned out poor flour.

The brief note at the end of the volume deals rather roughly with Père Marquette. He had no business to be with Joliet on the famous journey to the Mississippi, M. Sulte tells us—"none at all". He was a "mere burden" and "perhaps he could not use a paddle to redeem his own dead-weight".

All of the discussions in the volume are characteristic. The author is never afraid to speak his own mind, and never at a loss for apt phraseology. He writes with a breeziness which is all too rare among historians; even the arid wastes of genealogy yield him an occasional oasis of interesting information. The publishers have done a real service in putting these essays into such attractive and convenient form.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

Les Petites Choses de Notre Histoire. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Première Série. Lévis. 1919. Pp. 300. Deuxième Série. Lévis. 1919. Pp. 300.

IN these two series of *Les Petites Choses de Notre Histoire*, M. Pierre-Georges Roy writes for compatriots among whom the expression *Our*

History carries a French-Canadian meaning. There are in the first volume, fifty, in the second, seventy-seven *petites choses*. Each is a well-chosen, well-edited passage from the historical literature relating to French Canada. None of the extracts is very long; some are quite brief; and the rapid changing from one subject to another, together with the terse style of the explanatory notes, makes the reading a pleasure.

The variety in the selection of titles runs from homely topics, such as the nuisance of stray animals in the streets of Montreal (1706) and the absence of sidewalks in Three Rivers (1713), to more heroic subjects, such as the Battle of Châteauguay and the list of French-Canadian combatants. From speeches of public men, and from an occasional newspaper article, M. Roy publishes a few selections, the general tenor of which seems to betray a nationalist *amour propre* that treasures any casual eulogy and takes to heart any slight upon the people of Quebec. In fact, throughout the extracts and comments bearing upon the mutual feeling of race contrariety, any vexatious expression—such as Sir Edmund Walker Head's well-remembered reference to a "superior race" in a speech at Hamilton, 1858—the editor stresses pointedly.

This is not said by way of adverse criticism, but simply to suggest one outstanding inference to be drawn from M. Roy's work; and that is, that the little irritating things in the history of French Canada, quite as much as the great, inflame the national memory with an abiding resentment. Happily there are not many such references to be chronicled; and the reader who glances through the many minor incidents and questions which M. Roy brings together from the French side of Canadian history, will find himself led on, almost unawares, to an appreciation of a characteristic nationalist point of view. By means of these fugitive extracts, selected with no particular method, M. Roy has succeeded in displaying the spirit of French Canada in a wholly novel and entertaining way.

C. E. FRYER

Montréal sous le Régime Français: Répertoire des Arrêts, Edits, Mandements, Ordonnances et Règlements, Conservés dans les archives du Palais de Justice de Montréal, 1640-1760. Par E.-Z. MASSICOTTE. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1919. Pp. 140.

EVERY genuine student of Canadian history will extend a warm welcome to Mr. E.-Z. Massicotte's latest publication. It belongs to a class of books we greatly need and greatly appreciate.

In chronological order, it briefly analyses the documents of public character which are still extant in the Archives of the Court House of Montreal, and indicates their present classification. Out of a dis-

jointed mass of old, dusty or musty papers, yellow with age and covered with the seventeenth and eighteenth century writing, hard to decipher and tedious to read, the compiler has presented us with a guide or summary, which instantly puts at our disposal a mine of unused information. We are thus reaping in comfort what must have cost months and months of patient work. The collection is an extensive one, numbering about eight hundred pieces, and is composed of a variety of official documents emanating from different sources, but all relating to the welfare of the community.

It includes orders, edicts and declarations from the King, decisions from the Royal Council, orders and regulations from the Conseil Supérieur, ordinances from the governors and intendants of New France, and "mandements" from the bishops, as well as local ordinances from the governor of Montreal, though its greatest value is derived from the numerous ordinances of the royal judges, who had under their control the civic regulations of the town, and of the intendant's delegate, his *alter ego*, who had power over the whole of the district.

These documents encompass the entire realm of public affairs: election of town councillors, regulations of the fur-trade, the making of roads, the opening of schools, church matters, the fixing of price for bread and meat, the collection of tithes, the clearing of lands, the billeting of troops, the sale of liquors, the cleaning of side-walks, the obligation for bachelors to get married or suffer penalties, the bye-laws regarding cabmen and bartenders, matters of general importance and details of municipal life, down to the prohibition against "throwing snowballs to one another under a penalty of 50 livres". All these subjects, and a score more, are treated in the manuscripts of the collection, which throws a flood of light on the mode of life in French Montreal two centuries ago.

Mr. Massicotte's book, part of which has appeared in the Royal Society's Transactions of 1917 and 1918, adds to and completes the valuable calendars of French documents in the Federal Archives, published by Dr. A. G. Doughty in the annual reports of that department, and the various useful indexes to the Quebec Archives prepared by Mr. P.-G. Roy.

As to the method of Mr. Massicotte, it is generally sound and reliable, though perhaps slightly lacking in system. His summary of the documents is always accurate, but it gives sometimes too much space to indifferent ordinances, while dealing too briefly with important ones. It would have been a good idea to mention the number of pages of each document. Though not exhaustive, the indications of the printed sources where some of the documents are to be found, form an especially commendable feature of the book.

Mr. Massicotte's treatment of personal names is not always consistent. For instance, in dealing with ordinances issued by a certain official, he calls him "M. Deschambault" (p. 72), while on the same page he styles him "Juge Fleury Deschambault", and a little later "M. Deschambault, lieutenant général". We find several cases of similar variations.

Mr. Massicotte metamorphoses the well-known intendant Champigny into the unknown "Mr. Bochart" (pp. 35, 39, 40, etc.), though he would sometimes call him "Bochart Champigny" (p. 37) and further "Bochart de Champigny" (pp. 41 and 56). Is this because Champigny's patronymic name was Bochart? If we adopt that system, then we should say Duplessis for Richelieu, Buade for Frontenac, and Pierre Lemoyne for d'Iberville. But even if Champigny's name is really Bochart, chevalier de Champigny, as he always signed himself and was always addressed as Champigny, he should retain the name of Champigny, whatever might have been his patronymic name.

It is a matter of deep regret that Mr. Massicotte did not see his way or did not find time to make an index, which is an indispensable companion of any complete work of this kind. It is a deteriorating omission in a very valuable book.

But for these slight reservations, this *Répertoire* is a most useful addition to our series of calendars of documents bearing on the French régime.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

Observations sur L'Histoire de l'Acadie Françoise de M. Moreau, Paris, 1873. Par l'abbé A. COUILLARD-DESPRÉS. Montréal. 1919. Pp. 149.

EFFORTS to reverse the verdicts of history have rarely met with success. Richard the Third remains the monster of cunning and cruelty which Shakespeare drew, and Henry VIII the king who reformed a church because he wanted a divorce. In the early history of Canada, the role of villain is usually assigned to Charles de Menou d'Aulnay de Charnisay in his dramatic struggle with his rival fur-baron, Charles-Amador de La Tour. Moreau in his *Histoire de l'Acadie Françoise* (Paris, 1873) takes the side of d'Aulnay, basing his estimate on documents in the Archives de la Marine and the Bibliothèque de Paris. Moreau's is a rare work; only a hundred copies were struck off, and of these only fifty were offered for sale. The abbé Couillard-Després has undertaken a very minute and careful examination of Moreau's contentions, which he published first in *La Revue Canadienne*, and later in the pamphlet under review.

The primary authority for the period is Denys, whose well-known

description of Acadie published in 1672 contains a brief and bald recital of the outstanding historical facts which came under his notice. He knew both d'Aulnay and La Tour well. Like them, he was granted a large strip of territory in America for commercial exploitation. If Denys did not know the truth, who did, or can? The natural objection to his evidence is the fact that d'Aulnay drove him away as an intruder on his domain, and spoiled his goods. On the other hand, Denys writes his scraps of history in a singularly detached and dispassionate tone. The abbé Couillard-Després follows sound traditions of scholarship when he leans hard on primary authorities, those nearest in time to the events related by them, Denys, Hubbard, and Winthrop.

The second chapter is devoted to an examination of the memoir which d'Aulnay drew up in 1644, when he wished to blacken his rival, and establish his own credit with the French court. Naturally such a document must be treated as an *ex parte* statement. The various charges against La Tour's moral character are considered *seriatim*, and effectually pulverized. La Tour may not have been a saint, but he was not the libertine described by d'Aulnay. One of the most penetrating remarks on the character of Charles de la Tour is made by Roberts, who points out that he came to Acadie as a boy of twelve, that he lived a wild life among the Indians for years, and yet he showed himself an able diplomat at the court of France and the court of Cromwell. He was able even to ingratiate himself with the stern Puritans of New England. His marriages, first with an Indian woman, then with the Huguenot heroine of Fort St. John, and finally with the widow of his rival, also point to unusual qualities. Three chapters are taken up with a consideration of the actual struggle between the two seigneurs, its origin, progress, and climax in the black tragedy of Fort St. John. Their general effect is to reinforce credence in the story of Denys, which is becoming more and more a popular legend, like the legend of Evangeline, through the efforts of the poets and novelists. The career of Charles de la Tour is one of the most varied, adventurous, and picturesque in history. The abbé Couillard-Desprès is understood to be writing an extended life of this remarkable man. It should prove a valuable addition to the historical literature of Canada.

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN

Chatham's Colonial Policy. By KATE HOTBLACK. London: George Routledge & Sons. 1917. Pp. xv, 219.

THE sub-title of Miss Hotblack's monograph describes it as "a study in the fiscal and economic implications of the colonial policy of the elder Pitt". The book covers a wide field in an interesting, but rather sketchy,

way, and deals in some chapters more with the foreign trade of Great Britain in the eighteenth century, in the Baltic and with Portugal, than with its colonial implications. Chapter iv, the only one dealing directly with Canada, is slight but interesting.

In general, the author is right in emphasizing how greatly the colonial policy of even so soaring an imperialist as Pitt was built on trade; but she credits him with a more consistent, and therefore a narrower, policy than the facts seem to warrant. In theory, Pitt was a Mercantilist, but when confronted with the facts he was willing to break with any theory. Thus when the author speaks of "that great Empire of trade which he designed should centre round the West Indies" (p. 49), she is correct in believing that only by the retention at the Peace of the French sugar islands could the mercantile theory of Empire have been made in any sense workable; but she forgets that Pitt's resolve to make Great Britain supreme in North America was so much stronger than his Mercantilism that he was willing to surrender Guadeloupe for Minorca, but would have broken off negotiations rather than yield an American inch. On the other hand, when Miss Hotblack says that "the real fight for Canada was for a monopoly of the Newfoundland fisheries" (p. 50), she calls attention to what, if not the whole truth, is at least a neglected aspect of it.

W. L. GRANT

A History of the Organization, Development and Services of the Military and Naval Forces in Canada from the Peace of Paris in 1763 to the Present Time. With illustrative documents. Edited by the Historical Section of the General Staff. Vol. I: *The Local Forces of New France: The Militia of the Province of Quebec, 1763-1775.* Vol. II: *The War of the American Revolution: The Province of Quebec under the Administration of Governor Sir Guy Carleton, 1775-1778.* Ottawa. 1919-1920. Pp. iv, 148; viii, 271.

THE Historical Section of the General Staff in Canada has embarked on the somewhat ambitious project of publishing a military and naval history of Canada from the British conquest up to the present time, with copious appendices of illustrative documents. Thus far only the first two volumes have appeared. The first of these contains a long introductory chapter on the military history of New France, a shorter chapter on the militia of the province of Quebec from 1763 to 1775, and many documents illustrating the second of these chapters. The second volume deals fully with the outbreak of the American Revolution, so far as it affected Canada, the siege and blockade of Quebec in 1775-1776, and the subsequent military history of the province up to the

departure of Sir Guy Carleton in 1778. Of this volume fully four-fifths is taken up with illustrative documents. When it is realized that, apart from the preliminary chapter on "The Local Forces of New France", these two volumes cover only the first fifteen years of British rule in Canada, the magnitude of the task which the Historical Section of the General Staff has set itself will be clear. If the remainder of the *History* is conceived on the same generous scale as these two volumes, the whole should reach very large proportions indeed.

Owing to the absence of a preface or introduction—that last standby of the reviewer—it is difficult to be certain as to the purpose which the *History* is intended to serve. If it is designed for popular consumption, it is not easy to understand why the narrative sections have been made so full and detailed, or why the "illustrative documents" occupy such a disproportionate amount of space. If, on the other hand, the work is intended for the serious student of military history, it is strange that there should be in the narrative sections no reference to authorities or bibliography of sources, and in the documentary sections no explanatory foot-notes or indication of alternative materials. Not only is there no attempt to acquaint the reader with the literature of the subject, but there is even no allusion to such important collections of original documents as the volume on *Le règne militaire au Canada* published by the Société Historique de Montréal and the journals describing the American invasion of 1775-1776 published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in its series of *Manuscripts relating to the Early History of Canada.* In a work of this sort not even the Historical Section of the General Staff should have neglected to cite sources and authorities. "Theirs not to reason why" may be a good principle in warfare, but it is a bad attitude to adopt in writing history.

The narrative sections of the work, the author of which remains anonymous, are written on the whole in an accurate and painstaking way. There are a few errors. In the account of the judicial arrangements made during the period of military rule (vol. i, p. 43), the statement that "the captains of militia in the several parishes continued to exercise the judicial functions of justice of the peace" is only partially correct. There was a marked contrast between the judicial arrangements in the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers, where courts of first instance composed of French-Canadian captains of militia were erected, and the district of Quebec, where the captains of militia were not made use of at all. Nor is our author's version of the judicial arrangements in the district of Quebec accurate in other respects. Murray's "court of regular officers"—referred to by him as his "Military Council" or "Council of War"—was not a court from which "the defendant had

the right of appeal to the governor himself". It was a specially constituted court to which Murray, who held court every Tuesday, referred all cases which he did not wish to deal with summarily; and it sat, not "every two weeks", but twice a week. But such errors as these are insignificant. In general, the narrative sections bear the mark of an authoritative hand; they have apparently been written by some one thoroughly conversant with the military history of Canada.

The choice of the illustrative documents displays, in like manner, knowledge and discrimination. In the selection of *pièces justificatives* on such a large scale, probably no two persons would entirely agree. Every critic could find documents which, in his opinion, should have been printed in preference to those actually included. Many of the documents reproduced have, moreover, been printed elsewhere—in Shortt and Doughty's *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, 1759-1791, in the Canadian Archives Reports, or in the proceedings of learned societies. But it must be admitted that, on the whole, the choice of documents has been well made, and that many of them are now here printed for the first time. As a documentary history the volumes under review entitle the General Staff to the gratitude of historical scholars.

Each of the volumes is furnished with a full table of contents and with a fairly adequate index of proper names. Unfortunately, the appearance of the volumes is disappointing. The paper is poor, and the type is small. The proof-reading has been done in a very casual manner. There are many more printer's errors than are included in the brief list of *errata*; the punctuation is frequently irregular; and the accents on the French names are often either misplaced, or are absent altogether. If a military and naval history of Canada was worth while undertaking at all, patriotic pride alone ought surely to have dictated that it should appear in a presentable form.

W. S. WALLACE

A History of the British Army. Vol. VIII: 1811-1812. By the Hon. J. W. FORTESCUE. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1917. Pp. xxiv, 688.

MR. FORTESCUE'S latest published volume is considerably larger than most of its predecessors, and deals with the events of only two years; but these, indeed, were years of many battles, combats, and sieges, of which nearly ninety of more or less importance are described or mentioned in his narrative. In 1811 were fought the battles of Barrosa, Albuera, and Fuentes de Onoro and the notable combats of Sabugal, El Bodon, and Arroyo Molinos, all of which receive due attention. Cadiz, Badajos, and Tarifa were besieged. The following year was made

memorable by the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, the surprise of the Salamanca forts, the victory of Salamanca, the unsuccessful siege of Burgos, and Wellington's skilful retreat to the Tagus. It was further distinguished by the passage of an Act in Congress declaring that war existed between the United States and Great Britain—a war which has since taken its name from that year.

Mr. Fortescue's chapters on the campaigns in the Spanish Peninsula seem to be quite up to the high standard of excellence attained in his former volumes. They are, besides, extremely well illustrated by a separate volume of maps and battle plans in colours, and generally with contours—in one instance redrawn, but in others specially compiled for this purpose.

A large part of the chapter on foreign affairs is given to an account of the events and controversies which brought about the war with the United States. It can hardly be admitted that Mr. Fortescue has treated these in a strictly judicial temper. Randolph's denunciation of American Anglophobia in Congress in 1811 is quoted with approval, but the bitter comment is made:

> Where England is concerned, American statesmen have only to employ insult, fraud, and untruthful dealing to be sure of popular applause; and they have acted and doubtless will continue to act accordingly (p. 311).

Such a remark is scarcely well founded and, when made deliberately in a work of this character, is not likely to promote future good-will. It ought not to be forgotten that at that very time, when resentment over the capture of vessels and impressment of seamen was not unnaturally very strong, John Randolph, Josiah Quincy, and Daniel Webster, besides many other men of lesser note in Congress, not only opposed the declaration of war but fearlessly championed the British case, and that the Act was passed in the Senate by a narrow majority after a debate lasting twelve days.

Mr. Fortescue admits that the attack upon the American frigate Chesapeake was "an indefensible outrage", but he contends that satisfactory reparation was tendered, which is at least questionable. Jefferson is condemned for having wantonly thrown the proposed settlement aside—"whether from supreme ignorance or for ephemeral political ends is immaterial," Mr. Fortescue lightly remarks. Madison is described as "more servile than Godoy", and the sarcastic comment is made that "his attitude, when not attributable to sheer provincial ignorance, was due to lack of moral courage". These matters are unquestionably not discussed in an historical spirit.

Another chapter of less than forty pages relates rather sketchily the events of the war on the frontiers of Canada for the first six months,

terminating with the action at Frenchtown on the River Raisin, fought in January, 1813. It is quite evident that for his materials Mr. Fortescue has seldom resorted to original sources of information. His references are rarely to documents and he frankly relies on secondary authorities, often biased, sometimes ill-informed; and these have not been critically compared. Although the main outline of his narrative is found to be fairly correct, many inaccuracies are obvious in its details which seem to indicate haste and carelessness in its preparation or revision. The date of the Act declaring war is given as July 17, 1812 (p. 514). On the same page Montreal is described as the seat of government for the province of Lower Canada. The name of the senior American major-general is incorrectly stated as *James* Dearborn (p. 521). The date of General Hull's arrival on the Miami river was June 29, not June 30, as stated on page 525. The statement that one party of five hundred Canadian militia "actually sought the protection of the enemy" (p. 525), is certainly untrue. General Procter's name is mispelled wherever it occurs, but this is a common error. "*Port*" Erie may perhaps be a mere misprint. It is, however, absurd to say that the *Caledonia*, a little unarmed brig of less than a hundred tons, belonging to the North West Fur Company, "had so far given the British supremacy on the lake" (p. 535). Nor is it correct to describe the *Lady Prevost* as the one remaining British ship on Lake Erie, for there were at that time two other ships of war, one of them, the *Queen Charlotte*, much larger and better armed, besides some gun-boats. A well-known name sometimes appears as Rensselaer, at others as Van Rensselaer, even on the same page (pp. 537-9). Mr. Fortescue's harsh judgment of Procter's conduct at the action on the River Raisin is admittedly based on the evidence of Richardson, a very prejudiced authority in this particular case on account of a personal grievance.

Altogether, it must be remarked regretfully that Mr. Fortescue's treatment of military operations in Canada does not by any means exhibit the same care, impartiality, and mature consideration which mark other parts of his valuable work.

The map supplied of the lake frontier of Canada, with an inset of the Niagara frontier, also appears very inadequate. The volume is provided with an excellent index.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK

Peter Sailly; A Pioneer of the Champlain Valley. With Extracts from His Diary and Letters. By GEORGE S. BIXBY. New York State Library. History Bulletin 12. Albany. 1919. Pp. 94.

PETER SAILLY, the subject of this bulletin, migrated from France to the

United States in 1785. He settled in Plattsburg, New York, and passed his life there, taking an active share in the trade and in the politics of the Champlain Valley. His correspondence and diary, preserved in the New York State Library, show him as a pioneer of strong initiative and of considerable fortune—a typically successful trader and settler of consequence on the Canadian-American border. Shortly before the War of 1812 he became federal collector of revenue; and in this capacity watched over the trade that passed in either direction across the frontier line. His letters to acquaintances and his official reports to Washington contain examples of mercantile transactions between persons on different sides of the line during the War of 1812. His solicitude for a naval armament to withstand Sir George Prevost's campaign of 1814 is well borne out by extracts from his correspondence reprinted at the end of the monograph; these include also one or two episodes connected with the Battle of Plattsburg. Mr. George S. Bixby, who compiles the bulletin, has constructed the narrative with full appreciation of its historical setting.

C. E. FRYER

The British Side of the Restoration of Fort Astoria. By KATHARINE B. JUDSON. (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xx, pp. 243-260, 305-330.)

MISS JUDSON'S article is well worthy of the serious attention of all students of the history of the North West Coast. As the title indicates, it is not intended as an impartial discussion, but rather as a reminder that there were two sides to this phase of the Oregon dispute. The British claim of ownership of the coast can scarcely be supported in the face of the Nootka Convention; much surer ground was the other British position: that Astoria was a private trading post not captured but *de facto* purchased during the war and therefore incapable of supporting the claim of the American government for its return as a national possession. Our author has delved deeply into the Foreign Office records in her search for materials bearing upon the question. She has wisely chosen to set out *verbatim* some fifteen letters and reports upon which she relies, instead of attempting the difficult and often dangerous task of summarizing them. Of course, as she points out, many historical errors occur in these documents; for example, in the lengthy letter from Simon McGillivray (pp. 254-260). It would have been better had attention been directed to the principal mis-statements by means of footnotes.

Astoria was established as a fur-trading post in 1811 by the Pacific Fur Company. Its private nature is clearly shown (if proof were required) by Astor's invitation to the North West Company to take a

one-third interest in the venture (*Astoria*, London, 1836, vol. i, p. 51). Naturally that company looked with jealousy upon the new concern and bent all efforts west of the Rockies to its defeat. The war of 1812-14 afforded them an opportunity to rid themselves of their rivals. They importuned the British Government to despatch a war-vessel to capture Astoria. The government consented. The Nor' Westers immediately sent to Astoria an overland party who placed before McDougall the choice of sale or capture. He chose the former; and the bargain was, as Miss Judson points out, approved by Wilson Price Hunt, Astor's second in command. Up to this point, whatever may be said about trading with the enemy, it is impossible to suggest that Astoria had been captured. Two months after the sale the British war-vessel *Raccoon*, arrived only to find the post British property. Captain Black, however, went through the empty formality of taking possession. Upon this act John Quincy Adams based his claim that Astoria came within the words of the first article of the Treaty of Ghent: "All territory, places, and possessions, whatsoever, taken by either party from the other, during the war . . . shall be restored without delay."

After a preliminary correspondence which Miss Judson reproduces (some of which may be found *in extenso* or summarized in Greenhow's *Oregon*, pp. 307 to 313) and which only goes to show the crass ignorance of the British diplomats as to the real facts, Adams ordered the *Ontario* to the Columbia to take possession. In the meantime the discussions continued. Mr. Adams's course therein appears quite tortuous. However, the despatch of the *Ontario* was a *fait accompli* which forced the British either to accept it with reservations or to take some serious step. In the result the Prince Regent acquiesced in the re-occupation of the limited position which the United States had held on the Columbia at the outbreak of the war, "without, however, admitting the right of that government to the possession in question". Unfortunately the reservation, though clearly expressed to the North West Company and to the British Ambassador, does not appear to have been transmitted in writing to the United States Government. It is not included in either the formal act of cession or in that of acceptance.

It would have been interesting had our author, instead of accepting without comment the British position that the coast was British territory and Astoria an encroachment thereon, discussed that subject, especially in view of the terms of the Nootka Convention and of the stand taken by Britain in the Oregon dispute: "Great Britain claims no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of that territory. Her present claim, not in respect of any part but to the whole is limited to a right of joint occupancy in common with other states, leaving the right of exclusive

domain in abeyance" (Letter from Huskisson and Addington to Gallatin, Dec. 16, 1826). The Nootka Convention was purely negative in its terms: that is, Spain abandoned her claims of exclusive sovereignty, navigation, and commerce, but no rights of sovereignty were thereby conferred upon Britain. Pitt's proposal of colonization may well originate in the view (for he was prime minister when the convention was signed) that the region was "no man's land", and would become the property of any nation that settled upon it. This interpretation is constantly reiterated in the Oregon dispute correspondence. It may be that this question is reserved for future consideration, as Miss Judson intimates that this study is only an advance paper and that she is at present engaged upon a history of the coast. The reference to William Pitt's letter as of July 4, 1814, would seem an error; he died in 1806.

The opening remarks upon the bitterness in the United States towards Great Britain in the early part of the last century are germane to the relations between the two nations. As Miss Judson correctly points out, this feeling must be appreciated in order to reach proper conclusions.

Mr. T. C. Elliott, a very careful student of Oregon history, has dealt with the visit of the *Ontario* and the restoration of Astoria in two articles in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xix, pp. 181-7, 271-282. These form an interesting appendix to the work now under review.

F. W. HOWAY

House of Assembly Correspondence Book, August 12th, 1856, to July 6th, 1859. (Memoirs No. IV, Archives of British Columbia.) Victoria: The King's Printer. 1918. Pp. 62.

THIS memoir is a companion volume to the *Minutes of the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island*, reviewed in the *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, vol. 22, p. 128, though unfortunately it extends to one year beyond the date at which the *Minutes* terminate. It covers the work of the first Legislative Assembly. During that time the body consisted of seven members, but in 1860 the number was increased to thirteen. The correspondence between the Speaker and the Governor is purely formal and throws but little light upon the situation. Many of the letters are only reprints of those set out in the *Minutes*, while others are merely the embodiment in letter form of resolutions recorded therein. Beginning with enquiries to ascertain the nature and limits of the rights and powers of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the Legislative Assembly respectively, the correspondence shows the gradual development of the misunderstandings which naturally arose from the divided jurisdiction. The Assembly frequently complain of

the breach of their privileges by the Legislative Council or the Governor, who also represented the company. As often as they attempted a constructive policy they found their progress effectually barred by lack of funds; for, by the terms of the conveyance of Vancouver Island, the moneys arising from sales of land were under the control of the company, leaving to the Legislative Assembly only the pittance obtained from liquor license fees. The difficulties of the situation are but thinly veiled by the ostentatiously courteous language of the correspondence.

During this period the great gold "rush" of 1858 occurred, but no reference thereto is found except a resolution suggesting the establishment of a mint on Vancouver Island. The first outcropping of the Songhees Indian Reserve question, which was only settled a few years ago, appears in a letter in page 46, dated February 5, 1859.

This volume completes the official work of the late Mr. E. O. S. Scholefield, the Provincial Archivist, and it may not be inopportune to express appreciation of his labours on behalf of Canadian history. Under his guidance the Archives of British Columbia came into being; his search for materials relating to the story of the Pacific coast was unremitting and was carried on with enthusiastic zeal; every repository, public and private, was examined by him in an earnest effort to gather together everything connected with the by-gone days; and as a result a complete and valuable collection of books, manuscripts, journals, letters, and documents of all kinds was obtained. A beautiful building on modern lines was erected to house these treasures. He had arranged, indexed, and, in great part, catalogued them, and was just beginning to give to the world these memoirs indicative of the wealth of historic sources, when death claimed him.

F. W. HOWAY

The Grey Nuns in the Far North. By Father P. DUCHAUSSOIS, O.M.I. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1919. Pp. 287.

FATHER DUCHAUSSOIS has written an interesting account of the activities of the Grey Nuns in the Far North of the Canadian West. His record adds another heroic page to the history of a religious community which had made a noble contribution to missionary endeavour since its formation in 1738 at Montreal by Madame D'Youville.

There is something of romantic continuity in the fact that religious work among the Indians should be carried on in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by a community of religious founded in Quebec by French Canadians. Father Duchaussois's volume bridges the years, and links up centuries of similar ventures of faith. To those who can take broad views and who can balance the various forces which mark

the progress of high ideals and of civilization, his work will undoubtedly appeal. Throughout there runs a simplicity, a directness, an optimism, and a heroic sense of admiration which lifts the activities of the Grey Nuns into something of a great venture of faith.

On the other hand, it is to be regretted that records of this nature seem destined to fall between two stools. The attempt to combine historical narrative with edification is, as a rule, a failure. A Châteaubriand may succeed where the lesser writer fails. Father Duchaussois is not a Châteaubriand. He has those qualities as a writer which belong to the literature of piety; and he sets his history in a religious frame and lends it an atmosphere of pious exhortation. There is a middle course between the method which he has followed and that of the mere chronicle. It is the course of the true historian. From this point of view, Father Duchaussois's very qualities prove his most serious defects.

The mechanical side of the book is good. The illustrations, though poor, are interesting. There is a good table of contents, but there is no index and no bibliography.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Aviation in Canada, 1917-1918: Being a brief account of the work of the Royal Air Force, Canada, the Aviation Department of the Imperial Munitions Board and the Canadian Aeroplanes, Limited. Compiled by ALAN SULLIVAN, Lt., R.A.F. Toronto: printed by Rous & Mann. [1919.] Pp. 318.

THE records of Canada's efforts in the war have received a valuable addition in Lieut. Alan Sullivan's *Aviation in Canada, 1917-18.*

Few people realize that the pilot in the machine is merely the apex of a pyramid. To the popular mind the pilot and his machine just happen. Everybody knows what the Canadian pilots did at the front: but little is known of the grinding labour in the drawing offices, work shops, and flying sheds, of the great efforts made by designers and scientists, or the tremendous organizations for training and maintenance, required to put and keep pilots in the air. This book deals with the work behind the scenes, and only one part of that work, training. It tells in detail of the beginnings and work of the R.A.F. Can., an organization which, starting from nothing in January, 1917, sent 2,539 trained pilots and 85 observers overseas before the signing of the armistice. And it not only did this, but one branch of the organization, the Canadian Aeroplanes, Ltd., built the training aeroplanes, exclusive of the engines.

The book tells how the war, an insatiable Oliver Twist, demanded more and more pilots, until in December, 1916, the Air Board in London

determined to form an Imperial Training Wing in Canada. Of the difficulties overcome, of the methods of training and what was taught, of the cost and the organization required, the fullest information is given, together with photographs and explanatory graphs. If the total number of pilots and observers sent overseas in twenty-three months seems small when compared with the total number of Canadian pilots and observers in the Air Force, it must be remembered that, when the R.A.F. Can. started, recruiting for the C.E.F. was at a standstill, and that later the Military Service Act drained the country.

The work naturally fell into three divisions, the actual training, the supply of material and the obtaining of recruits. While the officers organizing the training were sent from England, it was the Aviation Department of the Imperial Munitions Board, a strictly Canadian group, that built the training machines, laid out the aerodromes, purchased supplies, made railways, and attended to the million and one requirements of the newly created units. The success of the recruiting was also due to the work of civilian committees, which were formed in every town of over 10,000 inhabitants, and to the public spirit of individuals in the smaller towns.

For purposes of reference, the material in the book is admirably arranged in sections, and should prove a mine of information for the technical flying man or the historian.

DOUGLAS HALLAM

Essays on Wheat. By A. H. REGINALD BULLER. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1919. Pp. xv, 339.

DR. BULLER has done much more in this book than his modest title declares. As Professor of Botany in the University of Manitoba his attention was very naturally claimed many years ago by the Marquis Wheat, which is to-day (with its parent, the Hard Red Fife) the basis of all the high-grade wheat grown in Western Canada. His third chapter is an account of the work of Dr. Charles E. Saunders, who as Cerealist for the Dominion of Canada produced the single grain of wheat in 1903 from which has sprung all the Marquis Wheat at present in existence. The history of the new variety is well worth commemoration. Six years passed before the supply of Marquis had grown sufficiently to allow for thorough milling and baking tests, and for distribution among farmers. In the spring of 1909 four hundred samples were sent to many parts of Western Canada and its general cultivation began. Marquis Wheat invaded the United States almost at once, and to-day 300,000,000 bushels are being raised in North America from the seed originally selected seventeen years ago.

The quality of this wheat which first attracted attention, and which made it so valuable for the northern prairie, was its early ripening. It can be sown as spring wheat in latitudes where the slower ripening grains cannot, and it can be trusted to mature before the frosts at the close of the year. But for this reason it is a spring wheat more valuable to Canada than to the United States, and its development in the United States has occurred chiefly in those states where winter wheat is little sown.

The achievement represented by the production of this enormous crop, from a grain selected on an experimental farm less than twenty years ago, recalls the great impulse to agriculture, which came from scientific farmers of the eighteenth century. This is a record of which the Dominion Department of Agriculture may well be proud, and Dr. Buller treats his book primarily as a monument to the great cerealist who made so great a development possible. But it is much more than a scientific exposition of the qualities of a variety of wheat. The first two chapters of the book, which are designed to form a perspective for the right appreciation of the Marquis crop, are a general account of the grain trade of Western Canada. Chapter I is devoted to the story of the Red River Settlement in Manitoba, and is based largely on the work of Professor Chester Martin and the Selkirk Papers. It is a record of pluck on the part of the early settlers no less than of persistent misfortune. Chapter II gives an account of the grain trade in modern Manitoba. It explains in great detail the type of farming which is general in the West, the system of transportation by which the wheat is passed through Winnipeg and the cities at the head of Lake Superior, the methods of inspection and grading employed by the government, and the means by which the crop is financed.

Once or twice Dr. Buller is betrayed by his authorities into statements which it is to be hoped will be corrected in a subsequent edition. On page 39, in a table designed to show the position occupied by Canada among the great wheat-exporting countries of the world, a quotation from the Cereal Maps of Manitoba leads him to represent the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany as wheat-exporting countries. Of none of these is the statement true, though Germany did before the war export an amount of wheat rather more than equal to one-fifth of her wheat imports. Similarly the quotation of figures relating only to a single year gives a misleading impression of the relative importance of the wheat-exporting countries. Canada does not normally hold the second place, as she did in that year. This would be corrected if the figures for a period of five or six years were combined in an average. It is more than a pity that so many of the official publications of Canada lend them-

selves to criticism of this type, and betray writers who depend on them into statements which are not borne out by the facts.

But this is a small fault in a book which deals more fully than any of its predecessors with the economic organization of the grain trade in Canada. It should take its place beside the studies of the great industries of North America, which are now at last becoming plentiful. Most valuable of all, it gives an account of the reorganization of the grain market which was caused by food shortage in war time; and the reader who has digested the very detailed information secured for him by Dr. Buller, will be prepared for the difficulties of transition from war-time regulation to the free market for wheat, which will some day be restored.

G. E. JACKSON

The War and the Empire: Some Facts and Deductions. By Sir CHARLES LUCAS. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1919. Pp. 47.

The Colonies and Imperial Federation. By ALAN F. HATTERSLEY. Pietermaritzburg: The Times Printing and Publisning Co. 1919. Pp. 118.

"THE late war . . . in its general effect upon the British Empire does not seem to have created anything that is fundamentally new. It has not overturned and revolutionized the past. What it has done has been greatly to magnify, widen, and accelerate tendencies and movements which were already in being." Thus Sir Charles Lucas concludes his short but penetrating survey of the Great War. He finds that democracy, as a spirit, has become more vital and more capable of stirring up enthusiasms. However, he sees in the growing belief in the method of the referendum signs of political heresy. The referendum tends to isolate questions and as a result they lose in reality; while historically its uncompromising logic is far removed from the genius of the British race. The war too has emphasized the nationhood of the Dominions. Sir Charles Lucas writes here with insight and with no desire to say the right thing. It is interesting to note in this connection that he thinks the war had done a vast amount to rule an Imperial Parliament out of the question, and that it will help the growth of political thinking in the Dominions in a marked degree. In other spheres there has been advance. Perhaps the most interesting fact to which he draws attention is this, that the war which was purely one of defence has resulted in large British conquests. It is thus "a magnifying glass under which to detect the true germs of former wars and correctly analyse causes and effects of past history". The growing interest before 1914 in Empire history has received an illuminating impetus, and there can be no doubt

but that the events of the last few years will lend it almost a new perspective.

Mr. Hattersley attempts to survey the ideal of Imperial Federation from 1754 to 1919. His book is more significant than valuable, for South Africa has not as yet contributed much to the problem of Empire. The earlier chapters summarize adequately the well-known history and will be very useful for convenient reference. They are, however, rather of the nature of a chronicle, and they lack interpretative insight and do not give the reader the confidence of wide historical background. The concluding chapter is much more valuable as an expression of opinion on the status of the Dominions. Mr. Hattersley has evidently studied South African sentiment with care and found it, equally with that of the other Dominions, thoroughly opposed to centralization. He sees in the fact that the Dominions are formal members of the League of Nations an interesting development. As such "it may not seem necessary for the Dominions to become also formal members of a Federated British Commonwealth, the more so as the functions which a federal legislature would discharge are, for the most part, precisely those which should come within the cognisance of the League".

We welcome Mr. Hattersley's little book. He tells us of the difficulties of historical research in South Africa, yet in spite of them he has gathered together much material, which, well known though it is to students, is of great importance for the general reader. We hope that we shall in the future see further work from his pen, especially in connection with South Africa.

The book has no index. The bibliography is uneven, and that on Canada singularly inadequate.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

John Seath and the School System of Ontario. By JOHN SQUAIR. Toronto: printed for the author by the University of Toronto Press. 1920. Pp. 124.

JOHN SEATH holds a more prominent place on the title page of Professor Squair's volume than in the body of the book. What the reader finds here is, in the main, a condensed account of changes, incidents, and persons connected with education in Ontario since the year 1862, when John Seath, then a youth of eighteen years, became a master in the grammar school at Brampton. John Seath's entry on his fifty-seven years of work in the provincial school system suggests a comparison between conditions than and now; and the author at some length gives the statistics of the increase in population, the proportionately much greater increase in the number of schools and pupils, the increase in

salaries and general expenditure. And so, throughout, between the brief biographical paragraphs, are interspersed much longer sections devoted to summary notices of contemporary matters of interest in the educational history of the province. The author has something to tell us about such topics as the University Commission of 1861, the School Act of 1871, the admission of women to the universities, the Ross Bible, "Temperance" in the schools, the foundation of the Ontario Educational Association. Further we have glimpses of various persons who were influential in educational development—Egerton Ryerson, Daniel Wilson, George Brown, George Ross, Paxton Young and others. A passage in regard to Paxton Young may be quoted as a sample of the book:

> Generally speaking, he is merciful to the teachers and puts the blame on the laws and regulations which permitted the schools so often to be filled with pupils who could not profit by the instruction given. The most potent cause was the law (1865) which apportioned the Government grant to Grammar Schools on the basis of the number of pupils in each school who were taking Latin. This led to the adoption of a low standard of admission as well as to undue pressure on pupils to enter the Latin class, irrespective of taste or fitness. One of the interesting features of the situation was the fact that the number of girls attending the Grammar Schools and taking Latin therein was increased. And this raised the embarrassing question as to the suitability of co-education. Young's opinion was that girls could do Latin as well as boys, but that taking all the circumstances into account it was not a desirable subject for girls in the average Grammar School of Ontario. What he would have liked to see was a set of separate English High Schools for girls with studies suited to their needs. In the second place he would have changed the majority of the Grammar Schools into English High Schools for boys in which little attention should be paid to Latin or Greek and a great deal of attention to English and Elementary Science, and in which the ordinary citizen might obtain a preparation for life. And in the third place he would have established a small number of superior classical schools in the larger cities for boys who were preparing for matriculation into the universities and learned professions.

On the whole, this chronicle of attempts by Ministers, Superintendents, and other officials to improve education makes somewhat depressing reading. Often, as Professor Squair points out, the change produced results very different from those anticipated, or perhaps no very manifest results at all. The evils of the actual, patent to everybody, and the dream that this or that nostrum would work a certain cure, has led to a restless system of change until in some cases—as in that of the relation of university to teachers' examinations—"the compass has been boxed." While, undoubtedly, in matters of building, equipment, text-books, and other more or less external matters, there has been great advance, one may be pardoned if he wonders whether in genuine education the boys—at least those from the best schools—are any better off now than in the less pretentious days of 1862.

A Labrador Doctor: An Autobiography. By WILFRED THOMASON GRENFELL. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. 442.

THE autobiography of a man like Dr. Grenfell could not fail to be interesting. His life-work in Labrador is, in part at least, widely known and appreciated. By his lectures and writings he has for years been trying to enlist public sympathy for the fishermen, and this book, an autobiography of a man still in the prime of life, is another effort in the same direction.

Dr. Grenfell's method of self-portraiture is not that of the late Mr. Henry Adams. The readers will look in vain for descriptions of mental and moral struggle or for an evolution of principles of conduct. A few pithy reflections, the fruit of his experience, or, rarer still, emphatic statements of some deep conviction, give occasional glimpses of the author's inmost soul, but the book is mainly a record of work done. Dr. Grenfell is emphatically a man of action. We see it in the interesting chapters which sketch his boyhood and student years. He was all for out-of-door life, for sailing, swimming, shooting, rowing, football. As he relates it, his adoption of medicine as a means of livelihood was almost an accident. But he soon became keenly interested. We know from other sources, not from his own narrative, that he might have become a famous surgeon had he stayed in London. But sympathy for sea-faring folk, and a determination already reached as a student to work for others, not for himself, carried him away from posts of emolument, first to the North Sea fishing fleet, then to Labrador. The energy, high spirit, and tenacity that had made him an all-round athlete were now to make him the material and moral renovator of the Labrador fisher-folk. His original mission was to give them medical service, coupled with Christian exhortation. But he soon saw that the appalling conditions of life on that coast were at the root of the diseases which he was trying to cure, and that there were social problems demanding a solution. Dr. Grenfell was not the man to shrink from grappling with any task to which he seemed called, and before long he was establishing co-operative stores, to free the fishermen from the slavery of the truck system. The foundation of the orphanage soon followed, and the orphanage led to the undenominational school. Another line of activity began with his single-handed fight against the purveyors of alcoholic liquor. The logical conclusion of this campaign was the erection of the Seamen's Institute at St. John's. The attempt to introduce reindeer has been his only failure, perhaps we should say his only hitherto incomplete success, for it is unsafe to use the word failure

for any efforts of a man like Dr. Grenfell whose tenacity of purpose is proof against a few untoward experiences at the start. As a matter of fact every one of Dr. Grenfell's philanthropic enterprises has been carried out in the teeth of opposition from powerful interests, and the want of money has hampered him continually. Nevertheless he has had his way in the end, and results have justified him and not his critics. The history of all these things is in Dr. Grenfell's book. We should have liked a few more dates, and perhaps these might be supplied in a second edition.

On a general survey of Dr. Grenfell's career, as outlined in this interesting autobiography, it becomes apparent that his task in life has been essentially that of so many of his family, the benevolent rule of a dependent population. Except for the accident of his early familiarity with the sea and his exceptional choice of medicine for a profession, he would doubtless have found his way to India, and the "forty-eight cousins" whom he mentions as present at the first Delhi durbar, all engaged in either military or civil administration, would have been increased to forty-nine. Dr. Grenfell is an outstanding example of the Englishman's inherent capacity for government. His strong practical intelligence, his sense of duty to those in his charge, his courage and resource in grappling with evil customs, entrenched in convenience or general acquiescence, can be matched in the history of many a British proconsul in the east or in Africa. But Dr. Grenfell is unique in that his successes have been achieved among a white population, largely English by descent, and by sheer force of character without the prestige of office and the backing of a powerful government. The results of his twenty-odd years of activity on the Labrador coast place him in the first rank of British administrators. But the most important factor in his success and the one that marks him as essentially modern in his methods and aims is his capacity for engaging the sympathies and services of others in his work. The band of voluntary helpers enlisted under his banner is now numbered by hundreds, and his quick appreciation of the value of co-operative effort will make for the permanency of his great work, which is already one of the noblest Christian philanthropic efforts of the twentieth century.

H. H. LANGTON

Idealism in National Character: Essays and Addresses. By Sir ROBERT FALCONER. Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton. 1920. Pp. 216.

SIR ROBERT FALCONER'S new volume is small only in the sense that it is brief. Nothing more full of suggestion and more timely, both in its balance and its hopefulness, has appeared in recent months. Throughout

the author writes with two main ideas in his mind. He is convinced, both as an educationalist and as a publicist, that real education is something very much more than the quickening of intelligence. Although, he does not say so, he has his own student days in Germany constantly before his eyes. He has his old admirations (and which of us has not?) for the thoroughness of German teaching, for the love it had of learning for its own sake, for its devotion to an idea; and yet all this intensity has taken a wrong road, and has led to the tragic struggle which lies behind us. A most intelligent people showed itself unmoral, inhuman, the challenger of all that the world had come to consider as righteousness. There may be a most competent education which yet leaves men worse than it found them.

The second main idea running through the book arises from the disillusionment of this post-war time. The flags have ceased to wave, and maimed men are limping about our streets, and all society is disturbed with this strange phenomenon, the enormously increased cost of living. Labour has at least doubled its receipts, while salaried men remain pretty much where they were; and yet labour is not satisfied, while the position of the salaried man has in multitudes of cases become desperate. And so in a most interesting essay Sir Robert Falconer raises the question—What about progress? Our generation was optimistic by temperament, because perhaps of the energies of youth in a new world. The later Victorians were optimistic because their conception of evolution was that of inevitable progress towards better things. But while it is possible to say that the war brought out much that was best and most heroic in human nature, while it may be claimed that the sacrifice made by so many hundreds of thousands was the supremest form of religion, there is yet the uneasy feeling as men look out over the world to-day that mankind has gone back, and not forward. For our comfort our imaginations can hardly picture conditions in the Balkans and in the Caucasus. Conditions prevent us from doing, with those whose eyes are closed, what Carlyle did with Emerson. When Emerson came to visit Carlyle he said that everything he saw of the English people made him feel more and more the splendour of the race. The great thoroughfares of London impressed him thus. So Carlyle, taking him through the region of Seven Dials, turned and asked him, as they scraped elbows with the horrors of the neighbourhood, "Will you believe in the devil noo?" Sir Robert is sure that there is progress, but his essay will not be comforting to those who close their eyes to things as they are.

Singularly timely, too, is the chapter "The Claim of the Bible upon the Educated Reader". The time of sorrow is always the opportunity

for the religious crank. Those earnest people who live upon single and apocalyptic texts are having a free field at the present time. Sir Robert sets forth the knowledge that has for many years been the possession of scholars with regard to the historical criticism of the Old and New Testaments, but he states the results of this criticism in a way that is bound to carry weight with those who have been unable to follow the processes by which these results have been attained. He is anxious that in the formation of national character it should be noticed that Scripture is always dealing with definite historical conditions:

> Apart from the inspiration which average people get from the illuminating flash of individual verses, there are in the New Testament arguments and religious truths which are intelligible only as against a background of contemporary religious thought and practice. In fact the epistles were written to people who were themselves in a new situation in the midst of an old world, and unless the reader knows something about the old world he cannot comprehend the new situation nor the import, the masterly handling of new problems and the unique religious and moral teaching of these books.

Sir Robert Falconer has done us all a service by this eloquent, fresh, and well-balanced book. He can be the critic of the life in which he moves. He can tell Canadians that they are so absorbed in the active functions of life as to give but little room for the contemplative. The reader has here the material for a month of thought.

R. BRUCE TAYLOR

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended review later.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

COLQUHOUN, A. H. U. *British Ministers at Washington* (Canadian Magazine, January, 1920, pp. 195-202).

A study in Anglo-American diplomatic relations, with special reference to Canada.

DESY, JEAN. *De l'Ile à l'Empire* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Decembre, 1919, pp. 385-410).

A study of the development of modern British imperialism, from a very critical French-Canadian point of view.

HATTERSLEY, ALAN F. *The Colonies and Imperial Federation.* Pietermaritzburg: The Times Printing and Publishing Co. 1919. Pp. 118.

Reviewed on page 222.

JEBB, Captain RICHARD. *Conference or Cabinet?* (United Empire, April, 1920, pp. 160-168).

A paper, to be continued, surveying the present situation in regard to the imperial problem.

LUCAS, Sir CHARLES. *The War and the Empire: Some Facts and Deductions.* Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1919. Pp. 47.

Reviewed on page 222.

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

CHAPAIS, THOMAS. *Cours d'histoire du Canada.* Tome I: *1760-1791.* Québec: Garneau. 1919. Pp. vii, 328.

The first of a series of four volumes covering the history of Canada under British rule. To be reviewed later.

CHARTIER, Chanoine EMILE. *Le Canada d'autrefois (1608-1840)* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxv, no. 4, pp. 255-279).

A sketch of Canadian history up to 1840, prepared by the author as the first of a series of lectures on French Canada, to be delivered at the Catholic Institute in Paris, France.

DESROSIERS, l'abbé ADELARD, et, BERTRAND, CAMILLE. *Histoire du Canada.* Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1919. Pp. 567.

To be reviewed later.

HASSARD, ALBERT R. *Great Canadian Orators* (Canadian Magazine, January, 1920, pp. 240-246; February, 1920, pp, 353-360; March, 1920, pp. 435-442; April, 1920, pp. 522-526).

Sketches of Edward Blake, B. B. Osler, Sir Joseph A. Chapleau, and the Rev. William Morley Punshon.

HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE GENERAL STAFF. *A History of the Organization, Development and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada, from the Peace of Paris in 1763, to the Present Time.* Vol. II: *The War of the American Revolution: The Province of Quebec under the Administration of Governor Sir Guy Carleton, 1775-1778.* [Ottawa, 1920.] Pp. viii, 271.

Reviewed on page 210.

HOLAND, H. R. *The Kensington Rune Stone—Is it the Oldest Native Document of American History?* (The Wisconsin Magazine of History, vol. iii, no. 2, pp. 153-183).

A fresh discussion of the authenticity of the famous "Kensington runestone", discovered in Minnesota about twenty years ago, and purporting to be, with its inscription, an archaeological evidence of a Norse expedition into the heart of North America in 1362. The author brings forward some new arguments in favour of the genuineness of the stone, on the assumption that the expedition reached Minnesota by way of Hudson Bay.

—— —— *Further Discoveries concerning the Kensington Rune Stone* (The Wisconsin Magazine of History, vol. iii, no. 3, pp. 332-338).

A short paper supplementary to the preceding article.

SHORTT, ADAM, and ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY (eds.). *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791.* Two vols. Second and revised edition by the Historical Documents Publication Board. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1918. Pp. xvi, 1084.

To be reviewed later.

SKELTON, OSCAR D. *The Canadian Dominion: A Chronicle of our Northern Neighbour.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co. (The Chronicles of America series, vol. 49.) 1919 Pp. xi, 296.

To be reviewed later.

(2) The History of New France

CARON, l'abbé IVANHOË. *La famille Gaultier de Varennes* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. i, pp. 14-21; no. 3, pp. 78-89).

Genealogical details.

CORRIGAN, GERTRUDE. *Two Hundredth Anniversary of Fort Chartres* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, vol. ii, no. 4, pp. 474-488).

An article commemorating the building in 1720 by the French of a fort sixteen miles above Kaskaskia, in the Illinois country.

FERRON, THÉRÈSE. *Essai sur un vieil historien de la Nouvelle France* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, December, 1919, pp. 418-437).

An account of the life and work of the historian Charlevoix.

HOTBLACK, KATE. *Chatham's Colonial Policy: A Study in the Fiscal and Economic Implications of the Colonial Policy of the Elder Pitt.* London: George Routledge & Sons. 1917. Pp. xv, 219.

Reviewed on page 209.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'ancêtre de Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Bulletin des recherches historiques vol. xxvi, no. 2, pp. 53-55).

The marriage contract, dated 1676, of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's direct ancestor, François Cottineau dit Champlaurier.

—— —— *Les actes de foi et hommage conservés à Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches *historiques*, vol. xxxvi, no. 3, pp. 93-96).

A calendar of the *actes de foi et hommage* preserved in the archives of the courthouse at Montreal.

—— —— *Montréal sous le régime françois: Répertoire des Arrets, Edits, Mandements, Ordonnances, et Règlements conservés dans les archives du Palais de justice de Montréal, 1640-1740.* Avec un préface par Victor Morin. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1919. Pp. vii, 140.

Reviewed on page 206.

—— —— *Un document inédit du Baron de Lahontan* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no, 1, pp. 11-13).

A *donation à cause de mort* made by Lahontan in Montreal in 1684.

ROY, P. G. *Jean-Baptiste Couillard de Lespinay* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 1, pp. 3-10).

A biographical sketch, well documented, of the first captain of the port of Quebec, a native Canadian born in 1657.

—— —— *La famille Rouer de Villeray* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 2, pp. 33-52; no. 3, pp. 65-77).

A detailed study of Louis Rouer de Villeray, one of the members of the original Sovereign Council of 1663, and his descendants.

—— —— *Les Petites Choses de Notre Histoire.* Première et deuxième séries. Lévis. 1919. Pp. 300.

Reviewed on page 205.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Au Lac la Pluie, 1731* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Janvier-Février, 1920, pp. 16-20).

A brief chapter in the history of the western fur trade during the French régime.

—— —— *Mélanges Historiques: Etudes éparses et inédites.* Vol. 5. Compilées, annotées et publiées par Gérard Malchelosse. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1920. Pp. 126.

Reviewed on page 205.

(3) The History of British North America to 1867

[ANONYMOUS.] *Mémoire sur la partie occidentale du Canada, depuis Michillimackinac jusqu' au fleuve du Mississippi* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 1, pp. 25-32; no. 2, pp. 56-64).

An interesting manuscript of unknown origin, supposed to have been written about 1763, describing the routes from Michillimackinac to the Mississippi.

CHAPAIS, the Hon. THOMAS. *Le Comité des griefs de 1828* (Le Canada Français, vol. iii, no. 5, pp. 325-338; vol. iv, no. 1, pp. 5-18).

A detailed study of the proceedings of the committees on grievances formed in 1827 in Quebec and Montreal, of the mission sent to London and of the committee of inquiry appointed by the House of Commons in 1828.

DE ROYAUMONT, LOUIS. *La Fayette et Rochambeau au Pays de Washington: La Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine, 1776-1783.* Grenoble: J. Rey. 1919. Pp. 155.

A sumptuously illustrated account of Lafayette's career in America, containing some brief references to his projected mission to Canada in 1778.

ERMATINGER, Judge C. O. *The Retreat of Proctor and Tecumseh* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xvii, 1919, pp. 11-21).

A paper summing up the controversy over the British operations near Amherstburg and Moraviantown in the autumn of 1813.

FORTESCUE, the Hon. J. W. *A History of the British Army.* Vol. viii: 1811-1812. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1917. Pp. xxiv, 688.

Reviewed on page 212.

JOHNSON, IDA AMANDA. *The Michigan Fur Trade.* Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission. 1919. Pp. xii, 201.

To be reviewed later.

LANDON, FRED. *Canada's Part in Freeing the Slave* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xvii, pp. 74-84).

An account of the relation of Canada to the anti-slavery movement in the United States.

—— —— *The Negro Migration to Canada after 1850* (Journal of Negro History, vol. v, no. 1, pp. 22-36).

A well-written account of the working of the "underground railroad" after the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law.

RIDDELL, W. R. (ed.). *A Contemporary Account of the Rebellion in Upper Canada, 1837, by the late George Coventry, Esq.* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xvii, pp. 113-174).

To be reviewed later.

—— —— *Gentlemen of the Long Robe* (Maclean's Magazine, vol. xxxiii, no 6, pp. 20, 61-63; no. 7, pp. 25, 67-70).

The first two of a series of articles, full of learning, but popularly written, describing the development of the legal profession in Canada.

—— —— *The "Green Goods Game" in 1815* (Canadian Law Times, March, 1920, pp. 184-188).

An account of a "confidence" swindle in Upper Canada in the early years of the nineteenth century.

STATON, FRANCES M. *Some Unusual Sources of Information in the Toronto Reference Library on the Canadian Rebellions of 1837-38* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xvii, pp. 58-73).

A valuable contribution to the bibliography of the Rebellion of 1837.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

ANGUS, H. F. *Next for Duty* (University Magazine, February, 1920, pp. 24-31).

A proposal that Canada should accept a mandate from the League of Nations for the government of Armenia and Constantinople.

DAVID, the Hon. ATHANASE. *La mentalité canadienne* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxv, no. 2, pp. 81-101).

A study of Canadian nationalism, by the provincial secretary of Quebec.

DECELLES, A.-D. *Laurier et son Temps.* Montréal: Beauchemin. 1920.

To be reviewed later.

FALCONER, Sir ROBERT. *Idealism in National Character: Essays and Addresses.* Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton. 1920. Pp. 216.

Reviewed on page 226.

HAMILTON, C. F. *A Military Policy* (University Magazine, February, 1920, pp. 9 118).

A plea for the reconstruction of the Canadian militia system.

LOVEKIN, L. A. M. *Charles Lindsey, an Ornament of Canadian Journalism* (Canadian Magazine, April, 1920, pp. 504-508).

A biographical sketch of the son-in-law and biographer of William Lyon Mackenzie.

PAQUET, Mgr L.-A. *Etudes et Appréciations: Nouveaux mélanges canadiennes.* Québec: chez les Franciscaines Missionaires de Marie. 1919. Pp. 388.

Essays on present-day Canadian topics and problems, from a typical French-Canadian clerical point of view.

RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *Democracy and Heriditary Legislators: the Canadian View* (The Constitutional Review, April, 1920, pp. 88-93).

A paper which traces the Canadian attitude toward hereditary honours and life titles.

ROWELL, the Hon. N. W. *Canada's Position in the League of Nations* (Canadian Magazine, April, 1920, pp. 459-465).

A clear, interesting, and authoritative account of Canada's new international status, by the President of the Privy Council for Canada.

SPENCER, Canon P. L. *The Canadian Flag: its Making and its Meaning* (Wentworth Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. 8, 1919, pp. 9-19).

An account of the origin of the various coats-of-arms found on the fly of the union ensign of Canada.

(5) The History of the Great War

[CRAIG, Capt. J. D.] *The 1st Canadian Division in the Battles of 1918.* London: Barrs & Co. 1919. Pp. 55.

A pamphlet, compiled by a staff captain of the First Canadian Division, giving an account, from official sources, of the fighting of the First Division from the opening of the battle of Amiens on August 8, 1918, to the conclusion of the armistice on November 11. The pamphlet is illustrated with some photographs and some excellent sketch-maps.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

D'ARLES, HENRI. *La Tragédie Acadienne* (Le Canada Français, vol. iv, nos. 2, 3, pp. 184-210).

A paper by the editor of Richard's *Acadie*, reviewing once more the story of the deportation of the Acadians. The paper is based on materials in the Massachusetts archives, but it does not present much that is new, and it is very partisan in its point of view.

DIXON, R. F. *The Blue Laws of Nova Scotia: Some Curious Old Statutes of the Assembly of Nova Scotia* (Canadian Magazine, January, 1920, pp. 267-270).

Some curiosities in the legislation passed by the Nova Scotia legislature between 1758 and 1775.

(2) The Province of Quebec

BOURBONNIÈRE, AVILA. *La Mutualité: ce qu'elle a été; ce qu'elle est; ce qu'elle sera.* Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1919. Pp. 185.

A book by a French-Canadian labour leader which gives an account of the spread of mutual aid societies in the province of Quebec.

CARON, l'abbé IVANHOË. *La Colonisation de la province de Québec* (Le Canada Français, vol. iii, no. 5, pp. 343-352).

An account of the present-day colonization of the newer parts of the province of Quebec.

LA SOCIÉTÉ HISTORIQUE DE MONTRÉAL. *Les origines de Montréal.* (Mémoires de la Société historique de Montréal: onzième livraison.) Montréal: Adj. Menard. 1917. Pp. 364; cartes.

To be reviewed later.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BREITHAUPT, W. H. *Waterloo County History* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xvii, 1919, pp. 43-47).

A brief outline.

CARNOCHAN, JANET. *Williamstown, an Historic Village* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xvii, 1919, pp. 48-57).

An essay in Glengarry local history, which contains much interesting and curious information.

GRAHAM, JEAN. *Ontario's New Leader* (Canadian Magazine, January, 1920, pp. 224-227).

A brief sketch of the Hon. E. C. Drury, the new prime minister of Ontario.

LAND, JOHN H. *Odd Characters* (Wentworth Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. 8, 1919, pp. 41-46).

An account, based apparently on traditional sources, of some of the early settlers near the head of Lake Ontario.

—— —— (ed.). *The Recollections of Lieut. John Land, a Militia Man, in the Rebellion of 1837* (Wentworth Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. 8, 1919, pp. 20-24).

A contemporary account of the later stages of the Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada.

[LUNDY'S LANE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.] *The Centenary Celebration of the Battle of Lundy's Lane, July Twenty-Fifth, Nineteen Hundred and Fourteen.* Niagara Falls, Canada: Lundy's Lane Historical Society. 1919. Pp. 150.

A full account of the centennial commemoration of the battle of Lundy's Lane, prefaced by a short account of the battle by Mr. R. W. Geary, the president of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society.

MOORE, W. F. *Dundas in the Early Days* (Wentworth Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. 8, 1919, pp. 47-58).

A paper revealing considerable local research.

PATTULLO, GEORGE R. *Leaves from an Unpublished Volume* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xvii, 1919, pp. 5-10).

A brief account of the history of the County of Oxford.

RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *Criminal Law in Upper Canada a Century Ago* (Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, February, 1920, pp. 516-532).

A study, based on research in the Canadian Archives, of the state of the criminal law in Upper Canada in the early years of the province.

—— —— *How the King's Bench Came to Toronto* (Canadian Law Times, April, 1920, pp. 280-291).

An interesting paper, based on research, giving an account of the fight made by Chief Justice Elmsley to prevent the Court of King's Bench being transferred from Newark to York (Toronto) in 1797.

—— —— *The First and Futile Attempt to Create a King's Counsel in Upper Canada* (Canadian Law Times, February, 1920, pp. 92-100).

The story of the abortive nomination of Christopher Alexander Hagerman as the first King's Counsel in Upper Canada in 1815.

—— —— *The Mosquito in Upper Canada* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xvii, pp. 85-89).

An interesting paper having as its theme the crucial part played by the mosquito in Upper Canadian history.

ROBERTSON, H. H. *Lincoln Militia, 1812-14* (Wentworth Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. 8, 1919, pp. 37-40).

A few items of information regarding the Lincoln Militia, hitherto unpublished, found among the papers of the author after his death.

SINCLAIR, JAMES. *The Former Names of the Thames River* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xvii, pp. 37-39).

An interesting note on place-nomenclature.

(4) The Western Provinces

MCKENNA, J. A. J. *Indian Title in British Columbia* (Canadian Magazine, April, 1920, pp. 471-474).

A discussion of the legal aspects of the Indians' title to lands in British Columbia.

MORICE, A.-G. *Histoire abrégée de l'Ouest Canadien: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, et Grand-Nord.* St. Boniface, Manitoba. 1914. Pp. 163.

To be reviewed later.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

[GEOGRAPHIC BOARD OF CANADA.] *Sixteenth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada.* Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1919. Pp. 36.

Contains all decisions of the Board from April, 1917, to March, 1919.

GRAND TRUNK SYSTEM. *Annotated Time-Table: The Tour through Canada of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, August-October, 1919.* Pp. 63.

A sumptuously illustrated historical guide-book to those parts of Ontario and Quebec traversed by the Prince of Wales in the autumn of 1919.

JUDGE, A. S. *The Future of Wheat Production with Special Reference to the Empire* (Bulletin of the Imperial Institute, vol. xvii, no. 2, pp. 205-235).

A statistical paper, particularly valuable as showing the relation which Canada bears as a wheat-producing country to the rest of the world.

MACPHAIL, Sir ANDREW. *The Immigrant* (University Magazine, April, 1920, pp. 133-162).

A striking but discursive study of present-day economic conditions in Canada.

STORKERSEN, STORKER T. *Eight Months Adrift in the Arctic* (Maclean's Magazine, vol. xxxiii, no. 5, pp. 9-11; no. 6, pp. 12-13, 63-64).

An account, by Mr. Stefansson's second-in-command, of the fifth and last exploring trip of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, a trip made on the ice across Beaufort Sea.

V. ECCLESIASTICAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

CREIGHTON, LOUISE (ed.). *Letters of Oswin Creighton, C.F., 1883-1918.* London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1920. Pp. xi, 238.

Selections from the letters of a young Church of England clergyman, the son of Bishop Creighton the historian, who spent four years in Western Canada before the outbreak of the war in 1914, and who was killed in France in the spring of 1918. The letters from Canada are an interesting commentary on conditions in the West.

DELAGE, CYRILLE-F. *Conférences, discours, lettres.* Québec. 1919. Pp. 181.

A collection of speeches and letters by the superintendent of public instruction in the province of Quebec. Most of the speeches are on educational subjects.

DUCHAUSSOIS, Father P. *The Grey Nuns in the Far North.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1919. Pp. 287.

Reviewed on page 218.

FITZPATRICK, ALFRED. *Handbook for New Canadians.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1919. Pp. viii, 327.

An admirable little book "for the instruction of adult immigrants". It contains a brief illustrated account of Canadian history.

HALL, A. GRATTEN. *Doctor Wilfred Grenfell* (The New Missionary Series). London: Morgan and Scott. [n.d.] Pp. 64.

A sketch of Dr. Grenfell's life and work, apparently intended for children.

HALLAM, Mrs. W. T. *The First Protestant Missionary in Canada.* Reprinted from The Canadian Churchman. Pp. 14.

A sketch of the life of the Rev. Thomas Wood, a Church of England missionary sent by the S.P.G. to Nova Scotia in 1752.

JOLLIFFE, PERCIVAL. *Andrew Hunter Dunn, Fifth Bishop of Quebec: A Memoir.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1919. Pp. xiv, 200.

A biographical sketch of an English clergyman who was bishop of Quebec from 1892 to 1914.

[LES SOEURS GRISES DE MONTRÉAL.] *L'Hôpital générale de Montréal (Soeurs Grises), 1592-1821.* Tome Premier. Montréal. [n.d.] Pp. 664.

To be reviewed later.

MAURAULT, OLIVIER. *Le Petit Séminaire de Montréal.* Montréal: L.-J.-A. Derome. 1918. Pp. 238.

A sketch of the history of a Sulpicean College formed in Montreal in 1767.

MCMULLEN, the Rev. W. T. *History of Presbyterianism in the County of Oxford* (Ontatio Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xvii, 1919, pp. 22-24).

A brief sketch.

MAGNAN, C.-J. *À propos d'instruction obligatoire: La situation scolaire dans la province de Québec.* Suivie d'appendices documentaires. Québec: l'Action Sociale. 1919. Pp. 120.

A pamphlet by the inspector-general of Catholic schools for the province of Quebec, in which are republished a number of articles dealing with the educational situation in Quebec. M. Magnan is opposed to compulsory education.

SQUAIR, JOHN. *John Seath and the School System of Ontario.* Toronto: printed for the author by the University of Toronto Press. 1920. Pp. 124.

Reviewed on page 223.

YEIGH, FRANK. *The Biggest Business in Canada* (Canadian Magazine, February, 1920, pp. 283-293).

An account of the "Forward Movement" of the five chief Protestant churches in Canada.

The Canadian Historical Review

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

TOO few people are aware of the wealth of material which has now been gathered together in that treasure-house of Canadian history, the Public Archives of Canada. The report of the archivist, Dr. A. G. Doughty, for the years 1917 and 1918 has just been published, after delays caused by the war; and it reveals the fact that even in wartime the Archives have continued to add to their shelves many valuable collections of original documents and transcripts. The report of the manuscript division of the Archives, which covers the three years from January, 1916, to December, 1918, lists a surprising variety of documents transcribed from the various manuscript collections in England and France, as well as much "miscellaneous material from other sources". Only a few items may be cited, in order to indicate the character of this material. From the Public Record Office in England have been obtained copies of the military and naval despatches from 1774 to 1781, of the Admiralty Secretary letters from 1688 to 1779, and of no less than fifty bundles of the Chatham manuscripts. From the British Museum transcripts have arrived of Carver's journal (1766-1767), of Radisson's *relation* (1682-1683), of the Caesar papers (1597), and of the letters of Pitt to Jackson (1764-1790). From Lansdowne House have been procured further volumes of the Shelburne manuscripts; and the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company have yielded up journals of York Fort, Albany Fort, Fort Prince of Wales, and Moose River between 1731 and 1734. From the Archives Nationales in France have been obtained copies of two volumes of the registers

of the Council of Commerce, and from the Archives des Colonies many volumes of the *Ordres du Roi* between 1759 and 1772. Among the miscellaneous material listed, reference may be made to photostat copies of documents in the Chalmers collection at Washington relating to Nova Scotia and the Acadian expulsion, to transcripts of the Lafontaine papers, to the Claus papers and the Stuart papers, and to a collection of papers and letters relating to Papineau obtained in so distant a quarter as New Zealand. Dr. Doughty and his staff have indeed been casting a wide net.

It should be understood that this wealth of material is at the service of historical students all over the Dominion, and even in other countries. It is, of course, advisable for an investigator in Canadian history to go to Ottawa himself, if possible, to examine at first hand the materials stored in the Archives there; and if he does so, he will meet with the greatest courtesy and assistance from the staff of the Archives Branch. But if a visit to Ottawa is impossible, he may still avail himself of the services of the Archives. A request addressed to the Archives for information on any specific point will result in a search by specialists for the information desired; and a report will be sent on the outcome of the search. If an historical student desires to obtain a document calendared in the Archives reports, all he has to do is to ask for a copy of it, and either a photostat reproduction or a typewritten copy will be sent him, at a very moderate charge. With the assistance of the Archives, there is no one in Canada, no matter how remote the place in which his lines may be cast, who may not carry on historical investigations of an original character.

The task of putting the more important documents in the Archives in print has been entrusted to the Board of Historical Publications, of which Dr. Adam Shortt is chairman; and the first-fruits of the Board have been the publication of a second and revised edition of the *Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791*, edited by Dr. Shortt and Dr. Doughty, the first edition of which has for some time been out of print. But the plans of the Board run far beyond the republication of documents that are out of print. In a paper read before the Royal Society of Canada, and published in the Society's *Transactions* for 1919, Dr. Shortt has outlined a most elaborate programme which the Board has

adopted. The general scheme for the volumes which it is intended to publish is as follows:

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

1. Constitutional Development to Confederation:
   (*a*) Ontario and Quebec.
   (*b*) Maritime Provinces.
   (*c*) Western Provinces.
2. External Relations, including Boundaries.
3. Militia and Defence.
4. Immigration and Settlement, including Land Granting.
5. Municipal Development.
6. Indian Relations and Exploration, including operations of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies.
7. Relations of Church and State, including Clergy Reserves, etc.
8. Education, Literature, Art, etc.

ECONOMIC.

1. Public Finance and Taxation.
2. Currency, Banking, and Exchange.
3. Trade:
   (*a*) Domestic.
   (*b*) Foreign.
4. Transportation:
   (*a*) Shipping, including Canals, Shipbuilding, etc.
   (*b*) Highways and Railways.
   (*c*) Postal Developments.
5. Agriculture.
6. Fisheries, marine and inland.
7. Industry: labour, manufacturing, lumbering, mining, etc.

When this programme has been carried out, Canada will have a documentary history such as very few countries possess; and students of Canadian history, of whatever grade, will no longer have to go to secondary compilations for their facts, but will be able to go to the primary documents themselves.

New sources for Canadian history continue to appear in the most unexpected places. In the *American Historical Review* of

July, 1920, Professor C. W. Alvord publishes what appears to be a letter of Father Marquette, the story of the wanderings which is a veritable Odyssey. The letter would seem to have been written by Marquette on the Mississippi in August, 1673; to have been entrusted by him to the Indians; to have found its way into the hands of Colonel Byrd of Virginia; to have been copied by him; and the copy has found a resting-place in the manuscript collection of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey in England. There it was transcribed as long ago as 1893, and a translation of it was included in the *Thirteenth Report* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission; but, owing to an error in the transcription of Marquette's signature, the significance of the letter was not recognized until one of Professor Alvord's colleagues happened to call his attention to it. The importance of the letter is not great, but it is interesting as an earnest of the materials relating to Canadian history which may yet be unearthed.

A publication of great interest to students of Canadian government is the report of the special committee of the Canadian Senate which was appointed in June, 1919, "to consider and report on the possibility of bettering the machinery of Government". A limited edition of this report was published in pamphlet form by order of the Senate at the end of 1919, under the title *Report on the Machinery of Government;* but the report may also be found in the *Journals of the Senate*, vol. lv, 1919, pp. 340-374. It contains not only the recommendations of the committee, but also, in the form of appendices, the substance of the Murray report of 1912, of the report of the Haldane committee appointed by the British government in 1917, and of the recommendations of the Select Committee of the British House of Commons on National Expenditure in 1918. Taken altogether, the report is one that no student of Canadian government, and indeed no one who takes a conscientious interest in Canadian politics, can afford to ignore.

THE CAPTAINS OF MILITIA

THE long period during which the captains of militia in Canada retained their position and influence is a proof of the usefulness of the system they embodied, and of the happiness of their choice for the functions they discharged. Every one of them was an *habitant*—the foremost in his locality for intelligence, activity, and good character. He was a true representative of the people, and at the same time he was an agent of the central power, an *homme de confiance*, a factotum in every sense of the word. He dealt direct with the governor-general, with the lieutenant-governor, the judges, the curé, the seignior, and with every family. He served without pay, but the honour was great, and no *capitaine de la côte* would have accepted any remuneration.

It is a strange oversight on the part of the historians that they have not, as a rule, seen the extraordinary significance of the captain of militia in Canadian history. They must have been deceived by the military aspect of the title. As a matter of fact, the captain of militia was not only a military personage; he was five or six other personages, all in the same man. He was recorder, and he was superintendent of roads. No government case before a tribunal was examined without his being present, notwithstanding that the official attorney was there also. Any dealings between the seignior or the curé and the civil authorities passed through him. If an accident happened somewhere, it was the captain of the place who wrote the report, and any action taken subsequently was under his management. If a farmer wished to approach the government or the judge, the captain took the affair into his hand. When a seignior trespassed on the land of a farmer, the captain came between the two, and his report was considered first of all. When the high functionaries, such as the governor, the intendant, or the judge, travelled, they were invariably the guests of the captain. He had even an eye on the mail bags and the transport of packages. He was of more importance in the community than is one of our members of parliament to-day.

Let us see how the office of the captain of militia arose.

By 1636, when about thirty families had settled near the spot where the city of Quebec now stands, the danger of the Indian war had become visible. From the first, the little colony was exposed to the attacks of an enemy far superior in numbers, and —what was worse—an enemy who fought, not like a soldier, but like an assassin, stabbing by ruse in the dark, and then running away. The Iroquois made these raids under the pretext of "coming to kill the Algonquin", as had been their practice of old, but the French settlers were not exempt, being the friends of the Algonquins among whom they lived. The Iroquois had also a vendetta with the Hurons of Lake Simcoe, and as the Hurons came down annually to the St. Lawrence to sell furs to the French at Three Rivers, they too attracted the Iroquois to the French settlements.

Governor d'Ailleboust, who took charge of the colony of New France in 1648, was a military man. Though the white population of the colony at that time did not exceed six hundred souls, he organized a flying camp of about fifty men from among the settlers, to try to ward off the invaders. The device was only partly successful. Like flies, the Iroquois would disappear at the first sign of danger, and would go to another locality where they might find a chance to strike without the risk of a battle. To some extent, however, d'Ailleboust's volunteers effected their main object, as they prevented the prowlers from operating, here and there, as they wished. This state of affairs continued for nearly twenty years, and during this time practically all the men and boys in the colony were trained as militiamen; so that, although there were no professional soldiers in their ranks, the inhabitants of the colony were really a military corps.

In 1665, when the French population had risen to about three thousand souls, a full regiment of regulars arrived to put a stop to the Iroquois nuisance. At the same time, several Canadians urged the authorities to remodel the militia system already existing, and some independent companies were formed to march with the regulars in the campaign of 1666 against the Iroquois villages. In fact, there were three successive expeditions sent that year; and the result was that the Iroquois raids ceased from that moment everywhere along the St. Lawrence. But if the expeditions were successful, the royal troops made blunder after blunder in a kind of warfare to which they were quite new; and

we may say that the Canadians saved the main body of the army from destruction.

The French government, now under the impression that there was no more danger ahead, paid after this no further attention to the militia, and in 1669 the regulars were withdrawn from the colony. The Canadians persisted in advocating a good militia system; but for some time their agitation was in vain, and it was only under a new set of circumstances that the reorganization of the militia became once more "the question of the day".

In 1672 Fontenac came out as governor-general. He found that the colony was divided into three districts or provinces, Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, each with a lieutenant-governor and all the appliances of separate administration, the whole being a sort of confederation under the governor-general. The Council of the colony was composed of men residing in the little town of Quebec, nearly all of whom were interested in the fur-trade, and who could not therefore be considered as representative of the community or the three districts. Frontenac made an attempt to remedy the situation by calling on Beauport, Quebec, Cap Rouge, Three Rivers, and Montreal to elect syndics to act as advisers and to furnish information to the government with respect to their various localities. No doubt the members of the Council wrote to the minister in France protesting against this innovation. No doubt, too, the King was already adverse to it. In any case, a prompt rebuke came to Frontenac. "It is well," wrote the King's minister, "that each should speak for himself, and no one should speak for all." Frontenac's policy was checkmated—but only for the moment.

Talon, the intendant, following out the advice of eminent Canadians, had already recommended the creation of a militia in which should be enrolled all men able to carry arms. The Council had been consulted, and had agreed. Frontenac, as the head of the military organization in the colony, was directed by the King's minister, Colbert, to put the plan into execution. To do this, in accordance with orders from France, was quite a simple matter, since no public opinion was allowed to exist in Canada at that time; and Frontenac lost no time in effecting this reorganization of the militia.

Knowing what was required in a wild country like Canada, he planned neither the formation of a regiment, nor of a battalion, nor even of companies; but he based his system upon the instruction of squads at home, with a view to training scouts,

skirmishers, the lightest sort of infantry—the very men indispensable for any Indian war. In the case of hostilities with the New England colonies, he counted on the aid of troops from France.

The *habitants* were furnished with guns at cost price. They paid for these weapons by thirty or forty monthly instalments, and had the right to use them for hunting. For this purpose they were welcome, since each farmer had plenty of shooting in the forest at the end of his land, and could sell the fur thus procured to the company of traders which enjoyed the monopoly of the fur-trade. As for the ammunition, what was used at drill was free of cost; the farmer paid only for what he wanted when hunting. There were no uniforms, and there was no pay, either in peace or in war. The King was expected to supply canoes and snowshoes in case of need, as well as some provisions; but in general every man was supposed to be able to make a living from the forest or the stream at any time. The whole of the arrangements cost the royal treasury so little that the plan was readily approved.

All that was required for the carrying out of the plan was a captain-instructor of musketry in each parish, or in each settlement of smaller size. This was the *capitaine de milice*, or the *capitaine de la côte*. The farms were distributed along the St. Lawrence, each one abutting on the water—"along the coast", as the phrase was. The term *capitaine de la côte* is therefore clear enough for us. Sometimes one of these officers commanded five or six groups not yet numerous enough to compose a parish. He had a squad to oversee in every one of them. The whole country was a military establishment; and no man or grown boy remained outside the organization, unless excused for some good cause. Shooting was the main object of the militia; and Sunday afternoon was the time appointed for the practice. In the absence of the captain, a lieutenant or an ensign took charge; and there was no one who could not find in the musketry practices, not only a school for hunting, but also an amusement and a chance of displaying skill and perhaps winning a prize.

It would not be out of place nowadays to revive this custom, and thus give the people of Canada a disciplinary education, as well as a fit knowledge of all the elements necessary to make a soldier. Men of the squad, if properly trained, are two years in advance of others when they are formed into companies or battalions. It is useless and very expensive to send recruits to a camp. Why not prepare the population at large to enter into company formation with ease and efficacy? The training by which

these results can be obtained costs nothing. There was no militia budget for the men of Frontenac, no expense for uniforms or supplies of any sort. Frontenac's was a real militia, and no false imitation of an army, such as Canada has to-day. It was cheap, effective, pleasant, and advantageous to the young men in all the steps of life afterwards. Dexterity, orderliness, self-control, good behaviour, politeness—these and many other benefits were derived from it. I should like the reader to read this paragraph a second time.

We have seen how Louis XIV censured Frontenac for the introduction of a body of delegates from the principal localities of the colony. This action was in perfect accord with the despotic ideas of that monarch, whose system of government separated the power from the people. But look now at the action of Frontenac in reply! Through the master-stroke whereby he created the captains of militia, he devised a scheme by which the people got more than could have been expected from the syndics. The intendant, the Council of the colony, even the King himself, accepted the captain of militia with all his attributes, but—strange to say—they did not suspect that he was the mouth-piece of the people. There was in New France no such thing as a municipal system, but the captain was, to all intents and purposes, a municipal system by himself. The French administration of Canada was not so bad as we have sometimes imagined; for Frontenac's captain of militia was an essential part of it.

What has been said does not apply only to the days of Frontenac. Nothing was changed after his departure. At the time of the conquest, the captain of militia was still in all the glories of his situation. The first step taken by General Amherst was to put the militia officers at the head of their parishes, and they continued to be for many years under British rule the intermediaries between all classes and the central power. Indeed, as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, after representative institutions had been established, they retained their position; and it was not until 1868 that they finally disappeared. After 1760 there was no more drill, but the captain of militia remained because of his other functions and his recognized usefulness. The Militia Act of 1868 abolished the militia on paper, and thereby all that had been kept of the old system.

If I were free to select an ancestor for myself, I should choose a captain of militia before 1760, or even up to 1800.

BENJAMIN SULTE

WHO WAS THE CHEVALIER DE LA VÉRENDRYE?

EVERY student of Canadian history is familiar with the achievements of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and his four sons—named, in the order of their ages, Jean-Baptiste, Pierre, François, and Louis-Joseph—from the year 1728, when the father was in command of a small post on Lake Nipigon, north of Lake Superior, until the early autumn of 1750, when the last three brothers returned from the West to find they had meanwhile been supplanted by newcomers. The establishment of Forts St. Pierre (1731), St. Charles (1732), Maurepas (1734), the massacre by Indians of Jean-Baptiste and twenty companions on the Lake of the Woods (1736), the establishment of Forts Rouge and de la Reine (1738), the journey of La Vérendrye and two of his sons to the country of the Mandans (1738-39), the discovery of the Saskatchewan River by the son called "le Chevalier" (1739), the abortive journey of one of the sons (1741) and that of the Chevalier and one of his brothers (1742-43) to the country of the Mandans, and the discovery of the Rocky Mountains in the course of the latter journey, almost at the same time as they were discovered by two other French brothers, the Mallets, much further south—these incidents are commonplaces of the history of Canadian exploration.

Yet there has existed, and still exists, among practically all writers on the subject, the greatest confusion as to the identity of the various sons of the Discoverer who took part in these explorations, and especially as to the identity of that son who has become famous under the name of "le Chevalier". This confusion has been increased by the fact that no one, I think, has yet discovered for what reason, and by what authority, the title Chevalier was applied to the son in question.[1]

[1] The English equivalent for "Chevalier" is knight. In both languages the term is used as a title of honour. However, like the Greek word *ἱππεῖς* and the Latin word *equites*, the terms *chevalerie* and knighthood originally designated not only the cavalry of the army, but also a social class. In the days of La Vérendrye, the title "Chevalier",

Some writers have been under the impression that the title belonged to the eldest son. Thus originated the belief, shared by most historians until quite a recent date, that Pierre, the second of the sons, was "le Chevalier", as having succeeded to the title after the death of Jean-Baptiste in 1736.

It is clear, however, from a study of the text of certain documents, that Pierre was not "le Chevalier". In La Vérendrye's journal of 1738-39,[1] we find that on September 11, 1738, the Discoverer was at Fort St. Charles with his three sons, Pierre, François, and Louis-Joseph. Having promised the natives to leave with them his eldest son—Pierre, since Jean-Baptiste had been killed two years before—he writes: "I then thought of preparing to leave, had my eldest son received as commandant in my absence and had an order published. Taking the two others with me, I deferred leaving until the 11th of September, waiting for Mr. Lamarque. . . . I left on the 11th." Pierre, therefore, did not thenceforth accompany his father and his two brothers, who, a few days later, on October 3, founded Fort la Reine. This is confirmed by Pierre himself, in the memorandum which he addressed, through Captain de Vassan, to the Minister of Marine, in 1752, and which will be found at length in Margry. There one reads: "He [Pierre] took the following year [1739] with him [from Montreal an Indian chief] to revictual fort la Reine and fort Dauphin." In 1738, therefore, he was not at Fort la Reine.

Let us turn again to La Vérendrye's journal of 1738-39. On October 18, 1738, having completed the establishment of Fort la Reine, the Discoverer started out for the country of the Man-

when not conferred by the King (for instance, the elder La Vérendrye was made a Chevalier de St. Louis by the King in 1749), was used either to designate a rank in the army, or one in the family, between the *baron* and the *écuyer* (esquire). In the case of the personage who forms the subject of this article, it must have been a title specially conferred; otherwise the father would have called his other sons by their appropriate titles. In his report of the expedition of 1738-39 to the Mandan country, the elder La Vérendrye writes: "I made one of my children take the flag painted with the arms of France, and march at the front. . . . I ordered my son, the Chevalier, to make our Frenchmen draw up in line, the flag four paces in front" (*Canadian Archives Report*, 1889, Note A, pp. 15-17). This is the first occasion on which La Vérendrye gives the title of Chevalier to his son. Was it because the young man had been specially appointed to carry the King's banner that his father, the chief of the expedition, calls him "le Chevalier"? Was the Chevalier de la Vérendrye a "Chevalier banneret"? I should not like to pass an opinion. It is remarkable, at any rate, that the incident of the carrying of the flag or banner should coincide with the first occasion on which the young man is referred to by his father as "le Chevalier".

[1] *Canadian Archives Report*, 1889, Note A.

dans. "Taking my two children with me," he says, ". . . on the 18th, all being in good order in the fort, I made all our people set out, with orders to encamp not far off, and afterwards to leave with Mr. de la Marque about noon." Note that La Vérendrye does not say "two of my children," but "my two children". Pierre is still at Fort St. Charles, and François and Louis-Joseph are those of the sons who accompany the father. Besides, there is nothing in the journal, since September 11, which would indicate that, for some reason or other, Pierre had abandoned Fort St. Charles and come to join the party.

Towards the end of the expedition, on December 3, preparatory to entering the Mandan fort, on the invitation of the chiefs, La Vérendrye orders "the chevalier to make all our Frenchmen draw up in line." On the 15th, as the party is on its way back to Fort la Reine, the Assiniboines have deserted and fled towards their own country, without notifying La Vérendrye. He writes: "I was notified shortly after that an interpreter whom I had paid liberally to secure him had decamped in spite of all the offers which my son, the Chevalier, had made him." Then, on the 21st: "Six days after the Assiniboines left I sent my son, the Chevalier, with Sieur Nolant, six Frenchmen and several Mandans to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river [Missouri]."

Pierre being still at Fort St. Charles, the Chevalier, whom, by the way La Vérendrye has never designated by that title before December 3, but whom he will now often mention in that way, s either François or Louis-Joseph. In Margry can be read the noble letter that the Chevalier wrote to the Minister of Marine in September, 1750. It will be noticed that this letter is followed by another letter entitled "Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye demands justice in his turn", and signed "Laverandry". Moreover, the memorandum, also reproduced in Margry, which "Laverandry l'aisné [the eldest]" wrote to the Minister of Marine in 1752 does not mention this expedition of 1738-39, although the writer speaks of that of 1741, which he says he made in the company of two Frenchmen: ". . . in 1741, he left alone with two Frenchmen to go and make new discoveries which he has pushed to close to two Spanish forts." Confirming this, we read in the memorandum of La Vérendrye the elder to the Marquis of Beauharnois, also reproduced in Margry, that Pierre received from his father, at Missilimakinak, on July 16, 1740, the order to make this journey in the autumn of the same year. Apparently Pierre could not make arrangements to leave until the spring of 1741. When La

Vérendrye arrived at Fort la Reine on October 13, 1741, he found Pierre had returned: "On October 13th, 1741, I arrived at fort la Reine. I found there my eldest son who had returned from the Mandan country, having been unable to proceed because of the lack of a guide." This corresponds with what Pierre himself says: ". . . the well-founded fear that he had of the foe and furthermore the lack of a guide have obliged him to return sooner than he would have done." It is therefore quite evident that the terms "my eldest son" and "le Chevalier" used by La Vérendrye do not apply to one and the same person.

But let us take the expedition to the Mandans of 1742-43, the most important of the three, being the one in the course of which the Rocky Mountains were sighted Let us note again that Pierre or "Lavérandrye l'aisné [the eldest]" does not mention it in the memorandum of his services already twice referred to. His father, on the other hand, tells us that he sent him back in the autumn of 1741 to establish Fort Dauphin at Lac des Prairies, and he himself says that he left suddenly on his return from the Mandan country in the autumn of 1741 "to make the establishment of Fort Dauphin, and to invite the Indians to come to the fort and by that means to prevent them from going to the English, which most of them did. When everything was settled there, he returned to fort la Reine where he spent the year and returned to Montreal in 1745." Without going to the trouble of finding which year Pierre spent at Fort la Reine, it is evident that between the autumn of 1741 and the year 1745, according to his own testimony, Pierre was either at Fort Dauphin or at Fort la Reine, and, therefore was not a member of the 1742-43 expedition.

By what precedes, I think it has been proven beyond the shadow of a doubt that Pierre, the eldest of the brothers, after the death of Jean-Baptiste in 1736, was not the Chevalier. We are left, consequently, with François and Louis-Joseph, sometimes called merely Louis and oftener Joseph.

A group of historians in the province of Quebec, including such well-known searchers as Messrs Benjamin Sulte, Pierre Georges Roy, the abbé Ivanhoë Caron, and others, are of the opinion that Louis-Joseph, the youngest son, was the Chevalier. In support of their arguments they adduce formidable documents.

On July 15, 1750, there was made the record of a "sale by Sieur and Dame de Senneville to Antoine Lemay and Joseph and Charles Dandonneau of a piece of land in the Pads Island. Were present Jean-Baptiste Lebert, Esquire, Sieur de Senneville, officer of a

foot company of the Marine detachment, and Dame Catherine Gauthier de la Vérendrye, his wife, whom he authorizes, living in Montreal, on St. Paul Street, acting as well for themselves as for Pierre Gauthier, Esquire, Sieur de Beaumois, François Gauthier, Esquire, Sieur du Tremblay, and Sieur Louis-Joseph, Esquire, Chevalier de la Vérendrye, brothers and brothers-in-law, all three at present absent, being in the Upper countries." I think it is most important to note, as stated therein, that this document was made in the absence of the three brothers, who, therefore, had no opportunity to rectify errors made.

But there appear to be other official documents in which the title of chevalier is again given to the youngest son. It will be found, however, that all these documents are of dates subsequent to that of the death of Louis-Joseph, who perished in the wreck of the *Auguste* in November, 1761. An eye-witness of this wreck, Saint-Luc de la Corne, has left a relation of the unfortunate event. There we read: "We were thrown on the bank at about two or three o'clock in the afternoon; between five and six the vessel came to wreck on the coast, and we saw the sad spectacle of the dead bodies, to the number of 114, whose names follow: Captains: Messrs. the chevalier de la Corne, Bécancourt, Portneuf,—lieutenants: Messrs. Varennes, Godefroy, Lavéranderie, Saint-Paul, etc., etc."[1] Note that although the title "chevalier" is given to Captain de la Corne, it is not given to Lieutenant Lavéranderie, although there were family ties between the narrator and the lieutenant.

Mr. P.-G. Roy, however, in a note published in *Canada Français* for December, 1919, says that "five or six official documents qualify the castaway of the *Auguste* as Chevalier de la Vérendrye", cites the "list of officers and soldiers of the detached troops of Marine [who] perished on the Island of Cape Breton in the castel Auguste in November 1761", preserved in the Archives at Ottawa, and concludes that there should be no doubt about the identity of the Chevalier de la Vérendrye. "It is certainly," he says, "Louis-Joseph de la Vérendrye, born at Sorel on November 9, 1717," therefore the youngest brother.

But, besides the fact that not even official documents are infallible, there are other documents just as important as the agreement of sale made in the absence of Louis-Joseph (which one may be justified in suspecting as having been the foundation

[1] Journal published by A. Coté & Cie., Quebec, 1863, p. 14.

of subsequent documents of the same nature, containing the adjunction of the title under discussion to Louis-Joseph), and the list and other documents made after his death, which should also be taken into consideration. For instance, an entry in the Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials of the parish of La Prairie for the year 1758 is to the effect that (Louis) Joseph Golthier de la Vérendrye, Esquire, Officer of the troops, was married, on January 31, to Louise Antoine de Lépervanche. Among the names of the witnesses are found those of Chevalier Benoist and Chevalier de Céloron. Note again, as in La Corne's narrative of the wreck of the *Auguste*, that although the names of those two witnesses are preceded by the word "Chevalier", the name of the groom himself is short of this title.[1]

Then, in the "inventory of the estate of (Louis) Joseph Gauthier de la Vérendrye, in his life time, lieutenant of infantry of His Most Christian Majesty, wrecked, the preceding autumn, in the vessel *Auguste*, in passing into New France", made by Notary P. Panet on March 29, 1762, the latter does not give this title of "Chevalier" to the deceased.[2]

Let us go back to the journal of La Vérendrye and to that of his son the Chevalier. On January 5, 1734,[3] La Vérendrye yields to the request of the Cree chiefs who are asking him to leave with them one of his sons who speaks their dialect. La Vérendrye, according to his deplorable habit, does not say which one of his sons speaks Cree. Let us see if we cannot place him. We have seen that only François and Louis-Joseph accompanied their father in his voyage of 1738-39 to the Mandans' country. To read again in the Discoverer's journal this paragraph already in part quoted: "[On the 15th of December] I was notified shortly after that an interpreter whom I had paid liberally to secure him had decamped in spite of all the offers which my son, the Chevalier, had made him. . . . He was a young man of the Cree nation speaking good Assiniboine. As there were several Mandans who spoke it well enough, I made myself very well understood, as my son spoke Cree and the Cree interpreted into Assiniboine." It was the Chevalier, therefore, who spoke Cree; and as Louis-Joseph did not join his father and brothers in their expeditions until the spring of 1735, it could not have been he whom the Crees, in 1734, had requested his father to leave with them.

[1] *Bulletin de la Société Historique de St.-Boniface*, 1916, p. 124.
[2] *Canada Français*, April, 1919, p. 181, note 25.
[3] *Bulletin de la Société Historique de St.-Boniface*, 1916, p. 48.

If we revert to the journal which the Chevalier himself wrote of his journey of 1742-43 to the Mandan's Country, we read: "I attached myself to this chief [of the Bow Indians] who deserved my friendship. I learned the language in a short while, enough to make myself understood and also to hear what he could say, by the application that he had to instruct me." It is evident by this that it was the Chevalier who had the gift of languages. Further down, mentioning a few words spoken to him by another Indian of the language in use among the white people inhabiting the shores of the sea, he says: "I noticed that he spoke Spanish."

In the same journal we read: "[On the 30th of March, 1743] I deposited on a high spot, near the fort, a leaden plate to the arms and inscription of the King." This plate has most fortunately been found by a school girl, on the west bank of the Missouri River, opposite to the city of Pierre, the capital of the state of South Dakota, in March, 1913. On that occasion, Mr. C. N. Bell, F.R.G.S., in the *Free Press* of April 12 of the same year, wrote a very interesting article, in which were reproduced both sides of the plate. On the obverse is found the official Latin inscription.[1] On the reverse one may read, cut with the point of a dagger or of a knife: "Pose par le Chevalyer de Lavr [here two words or signs which, for the present, we will suppose to be illegible] Louy La Londette Amiotte le 30 de mars 1743". That is to say: "Deposited by the Chevalier de Lavérendrye [two illegible words or signs] Louy La Londette Amiotte March 30 1743." As to the two illegible marks, do they not stand for "t[émoin]s s[on]t," *i.e.*, w[itnesse]s a[r]e? Now at the beginning of his journal the Chevalier writes: "I take the liberty to make you a relation of the journey which I have made with one of my brothers and two Frenchmen sent by my father." I submit that the four men have very clearly signed on the plate: the Chevalier by writing his title and the beginning of his parental name, the youngest brother by writing his first name, the other two Frenchmen by writing their

[1] The Latin words on the obverse side, "pro rege illustrissimo domino domino marchione," have been translated, "in the name of the King, our thrice illustrious sovereign, and for Monsieur the Marquis". Why thrice illustrious sovereign? I believe the words "illustrissimo domino domino marchione" simply mean "our most illustrious lord the marquis". I am informed that a Roman Catholic prelate, for instance, may be spoken of as "Illustrissimus ac reverendissimus dominus dominus", the repetition of the word "dominus" indicating high respect. On the other hand, "Monsieur" is translated in Latin by the word "domnus", a sort of contraction of the more respectful term.

parental names, as was the custom in those days, when the use of mere initials was not in practice. Louis-Joseph had perhaps had the intention of writing ""Louis-Joseph de Lavr" as his brother had done, or simply "Louis-Joseph", but, on account of the difficulty of the job he stopped at "Louy". As to Amiotte, a very common name in Lower Canada, it will be noticed that, on the plate, except for the last three, the letters of his name are not joined, and the "m" is not a capital.[1]

We now come, however, to a most positive and decisive clue to the question: Which one of the four sons of La Vérendrye was the Chevalier? In a letter of La Vérendrye the elder to the Minister of Marine dated September 17, 1749 (Margry, p. 614), the old explorer expressed his humble gratitude for the Croix de St. Louis recently accorded him and for the advancement accorded at the same time to two of his sons. In the Public Archives of Canada, Register of the dep. Series B. vol. 89, one may read that "the Chevalier de la Vérendrye and de la Vérendrye the eldest" receive, at the same time, their commission as second ensigns.[2] In this connection, and if there still existed in the mind of the reader the least doubt about the identity of the Chevalier de la Vérendrye, I would suggest opening the latter's letter to the Minister of Marine of September 30, 1750 (Margry, p. 625), in which may be read: ". . . I am only a second ensign. My elder brother's grade is no better than mine. My younger brother is only a cadet." Only one of the three brothers could have written this, François, who stood in age between Pierre and Louis-Joseph.

In official documents, as in judicial verdicts, errors may be committed. In such cases, a rational interpretation of the acts, writings and speeches of the parties in question or their contemporaries will often help to re-establish the facts. In the present case, before the personal testimony of the personage himself, none but extremely stubborn partizans of the infallibility of

[1] It is interesting to contrast the procedure of the Chevalier in burying this plate with that of his father, who, on January 7, 1739, had also, by similar means, taken possession of part of the same country. The father thought it best to leave with the head chief of the Mandans, along with a flag, "a leaden plate which I had ornamented with ribbon at the four corners. It was put in a box to be kept in perpetuity, in memory of my taking possession of their lands, which I did in the King's name. It will be preserved from father to son, better than if I had put it in the ground, where it would have run the risk of being stolen." In reality, of the two plates the one buried in the ground has come safely to light, whereas no one, I think, has yet heard of the one that was to be so carefully handed down to posterity.

[2] The President of the Council of Marine to La Jonquière, May 23, 1749.

certain misinformed official texts may continue to refuse to admit that, of the sons of La Vérendrye, François is the one who has become famous under the name of "Chevalier de la Vérendrye." Those who have wondered how it is that his name is not to be found on the leaden plate, while those of subalterns are written there at length, have in what precedes the evident explanation of the apparent omission.

The West owes a monument to the memory of its discoverers, and the project of one to Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, Chevalier de St.-Louis, Captain of the troops of His Most Christian Majesty in New France, has been mooted for several years. May I express the hope, in concluding this essay, that when the day arrives on which this monument will be definitely decided upon, the great discoverer's valiant sons, who, though quite young, helped him so nobly and so tenaciously to achieve his great work, will not be separated from their father in the ~~hour of his belated~~ triumph. If La Vérendrye and his sons did not discover the Western Sea, they, at least, traced the greater part of the long sought passage to it.

A. H. DE TRÉMAUDAN

CANADIAN OPINION OF SOUTHERN SECESSION, 1860-61

SIR WILFRID LAURIER, a few years before his death, recalled that as a youth in a Montreal law office he was made an out-and-out anti-slavery man by the reading of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Doubtless that was the experience of many another young Canadian of the time; for in Canada, as in the United States itself, Mrs. Stowe's book converted, by its emotional appeal, many who had been unmoved by the long debate over the slavery question. Historians to-day give due credit to the influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in shaping Northern opinion. James Ford Rhodes says that its publication was one of the chief influences in bringing about the revolution in American public sentiment between 1850 and 1860 and leading to the success of the Republican party at the end of that decade.[1] The book appeared in Canada soon after publication in the United States, went into several editions, and was translated into French for an edition sold in the province of Quebec where, according to Mr. Benjamin Sulte, it was widely read.

There were other influences, however, at work in Canada before 1860 tending to create sympathy with the free states of the north in the approaching struggle over slavery. Such direct influences as trade and family connections were supplemented by the effective propaganda of the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society and by the attitude of such public men as George Brown and Thomas D'Arcy McGee.[2] In Upper Canada the refugees from slavery must also be counted in as an influence in the formation

[1] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, vol. I., p. 278. Longfellow spoke of the book as a literary triumph and greater as a moral triumph. Lowell wrote of the "whirl of excitement" that it caused; and Macaulay said that it was the most valuable addition that America had made to English literature.

[2] See Lewis, *George Brown* (Makers of Canada series), pp. 111-119; also McGee, *Speeches and addresses; chiefly on the subject of British-American union*, London, 1865. McGee's speeches during the early sixties contain frequent references to the situation in the United States.

of public opinion. Contact with the victims of the slavery system, as they arrived in Canada homeless and destitute, was likely to create sympathy with the principles of the Republican party when it came into being across the line. Here were the characters of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the actual flesh, and their stories supplemented the narrative of Mrs. Stowe. On the eve of the Civil War there were also two events which contributed to the fixing of Canadian public opinion in opposition to slavery. The first of these was the John Brown raid on Harper's Ferry in October, 1859, an event which had a distinctly Canadian connection, since the plans were laid at the convention held by Brown in Chatham, C.W., in May, 1858. This was followed later by the famous Anderson case in Toronto in 1860 where a negro fugitive, John Anderson, was brought into the courts in extradition proceedings, the charge being that while escaping from slavery some years before he had killed a Missouri planter. Canadian feeling was aroused in a considerable degre eby this case, as the leading newspaper files of the day well indicate, and though the negro was really freed on a technicality there was popular exultation that slavery had no power in Canadian courts of law.[1]

The combined effect of these various influences was that on the eve of the Civil War Canadians were decidedly anti-slavery in their opinions. Indeed, despite the influence of a small group who sympathized with the south, and were not always discreet in their expression of sympathy, the real heart of Canada was with Lincoln and the North throughout most of the war; and the tributes that came from the British provinces when the President was shot in April, 1865, did more than diplomacy to wipe out the bitterness felt by the North over the *Trent* incident and the operations of Confederates and their sympathizers in Canada. The pro-Southern group in Canada attracted attention chiefly by their violations of the country's neutrality, and their attitude towards the struggle going on across the border was in no sense representative of Canadian opinion generally If anything they were more Southern than the South, for when in 1865 a resolution of sympathy over the death of Lincoln came before the Toronto City Council one of the members voted against it. Southern leaders were more magnanimous than that.

The Canadian government showed a generally friendly feeling towards the North during the whole war, the *Trent* affair being

[1] For a popular account of the Anderson trial, see *Canadian Magazine*, September, 1915, pp. 397-401.

the only event that seemed likely to break friendly relations. British statesmen thought there was a very real danger in the defenceless character of the provinces, and exerted themselves to remedy that situation; but the Canadian parliament manifested few signs of alarm and only towards the end of the Civil War did it show a disposition to fall in with the British plans. Even then it was the concern voiced in Britain, and the influence of Col. Jervais, representing the British government, rather than apprehension of impending danger that resulted in the decision, early in 1865, to appropriate a million dollars at once for defence. It was generally agreed that Britain's interest in Canadian defence ought not to be ignored, even though the fears might be exaggerated, and it was also recognized as essential that Canadian credit be maintained in London. W. H. Russell, the Canadian correspondent of *The Times*, who travelled through Canada shortly after the war opened, says: "The Canadians with whom I conversed . . . declared that they were quite ready to defend their country in case of invasion, but did not understand being taken away to distant parts to fight for the homes of others. It seemed quite clear to them that the United States would only invade Canada to humiliate and weaken the mother country, and that the general defence of the province ought to devolve on the power whose policy had led to the war; whilst the inhabitants should be ready to give the Imperial troops every assistance in the localities where they are actually resident."[1]

It should not be inferred from this that Canadians were too prone to trust their neighbours and to admire all that was done by the North. As a matter of fact, Canadian opinion of the American national character was far from flattering. Charles Dickens was not alone in picturing the rowdyism and rough bluster of certain sections of the republic; only a few years before there had been a vast amount of spread-eagle oratory over the Oregon boundary question. Canadians were likely to contrast the best points of their laws and system of government, patterned after those of a great monarchy, with the more objectionable features of the advanced democracy of their neighbours. There was a widespread opinion in Canada that politics in the United States was synonymous with corruption, and that public affairs were in the hands of a baser element. It was easy to recall instances where Americans had indulged in the pastime of twisting the lion's tail, and these were often felt more keenly in Canada than they were

[1] W. H. Russell, *Canada, its defences, condition and resources*, Boston, 1865, p. 61.

in Great Britain. Despite all this, the Canadian people felt that in the slavery struggle the North was in the right. During the fifties they were being strengthened in this view by a variety of influences at work, but particularly by the powerful agency of the Toronto *Globe*, George Brown's newspaper, and by the activities of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, operating through its branches.[1] The amount of attention which Brown gave to American affairs through the columns of his paper served to educate its readers on the slavery issue, and through them whole communities were influenced. Through the *Globe* files after 1850 runs the whole story of the Fugitive Slave Act, the Kansas troubles, the birth of the Republican party, the John Brown raid, and the gradual break-up of the Democratic party leading to the election of Lincoln as president in 1860. As early as 1858, Brown, in the *Globe*, was confidently predicting the election of a Republican president, but had picked on Seward as the fittest candidate for the new party to support.[2] Douglas he regarded as straddling the fence at a time when the issue was clear.[3] The *Globe* gave much attention to the Harper's Ferry raid, with the earlier stages of which its editor may have been acquainted; and when John Brown was executed at Charleston in December, 1859, the comment was made that "his death will aid in awakening the North to that earnest spirit which can alone bring the South to understand its true position."[4] It was further predicted that if a Republican president were elected the next year nothing short of a dissolution of the union would satisfy the South. In the slave states there was a tone of bitterness towards Canada over the Harper's Ferry incident. In the course of Brown's trial, the details of the Chatham meeting of May, 1858, were brought forward. It was shown that plans for an attack on the slavery system had been prepared at this meeting in Canada, and that only the treachery of an associate had prevented a tragedy in the early summer of 1858 similar to that which took place in October of 1859. Governor Wise, of Virginia, was particularly outspoken in denunciation of plottings in Canada, and was quoted by the New York *Herald* as calling upon President Buchanan to demand from England that plottings cease and that negro refugees be henceforth denied the right to

[1] A brief account of the organization and work of the Anti-slavery Society may be found in the *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 4, pp. 33-40.

[2] The *Globe*, Nov. 19, 1858.

[3] The *Globe*, July 8, 1859.

[4] The *Globe*, Dec. 9, 1859.

remain in Canada. In this he was backed up by some southern newspapers, and De Bow's *Southern Review*, in an ugly mood, referred to "the vile, sensuous, animal, brutal, infidel, superstitious Democracy of Canada and the Yankees."[1]

Early in 1860 interest began to centre on the presidential election. Reference to Lincoln appeared in the *Globe* of February 24, and in subsequent issues the opinion was expressed that the Republican candidate would have a good chance of being elected. The break-up of the Democrats at the Charleston convention furnished Brown with a text for reading a homily to John A. Macdonald, his political opponent, on the difficulty of "trying to serve both God and Mammon".[2] On May 18, the *Globe* had a strongly worded editorial on the American situation, declaring that Canada could not but view the approaching election with deepest interest. It was not a mere struggle for office, but a struggle of principles, and while the immediate issue might be doubtful the ultimate result was certain. In a later issue it was pointed out that the question was really whether or not the huge sore of slavery should cover the body politic or be confined to its own place. The triumph of the Republican party in the election would be "a triumph of righteousness".[3]

The election of Lincoln in November, 1860, was received with much satisfaction in Canada, although Canadians, like their neighbours, were at first puzzled by the choice of Lincoln rather than Seward. Through the winter of 1860-61, when the Southern states were breaking away from the union, and Southern senators and representatives were delivering their parting speeches in the Congressional halls at Washington, Brown in the *Globe* continued to sound a note of confidence in Lincoln and the North. "Since Abraham Lincoln became President," said the issue of January 7, 1861, "we have waded through many speeches delivered by men in and out of Congress but we have totally failed to find any one good and sufficient reason for destroying the union." A little later the comment was made: "We in Canada naturally take a deep interest in the progress of the events that are threatening the stability and even the national existence of the great republic . . . knowing that this issue will have a most important influence on the future of this continent with which our destinies are linked."[4]

[1] Quoted in the *Globe*, March 21, 1861.
[2] The *Globe*, May 4, 1860.
[3] The *Globe*, June 1, 1860.
[4] The *Globe*, Jan. 18, 1861.

The progress of the secession movement suggested to Canadians the possibility in the near future of two confederacies, one looking southward for more territory in which to employ slaves, the other looking to the north to recoup itself in the British provinces for a lost south.[1] The New York *Herald* constantly discussed this possibility during the earlier months of 1861, predicting revolution in Canada at no distant date and subsequent annexation to the United States. "It is obvious," said the *Herald*, "that Canada comes first within the scope of Northern acquisition and must soon be numbered as a bright, particular star on the azure shield. The Canadians have long been panting for more freedom than they can enjoy under British rule." To which the *Globe* replied: "New and entangling alliances are not the fashion in Canada just now."[2]

The attitude taken by the Toronto *Leader*, representing to some extent the Tory element in Canada, affords some interesting contrasts to George Brown and the *Globe*. The *Leader* was not as hostile to the North at the opening of the Civil War as it came to be at a later date, but its comment in 1861 was on rather a low plane, the crisis in the United States being regarded chiefly from the standpoint of how much Canada would gain from her neighbour's domestic trouble. The *Leader* was unable "to anticipate any disastrous commercial result to Canada from the revolutionary movement now going on in the Southern states", and could even see some distinct gains that Canada might make as a result of the impending civil war. It predicted that a large amount of immigration would be diverted from American to Canadian ports, but feared that Canadian trade might suffer by the reduction of the number of states actually in the union.[3] Occasionally the *Leader*

[1] Thomas D'Arcy McGee made reference to this in a speech at Halifax on July 21, 1863 (*Speeches and addresses chiefly on the subject of British-American Union*, London, 1865, p. 64). Gladstone seems to have had an idea that Canada might be drawn in by the North. Another aspect of this idea is mentioned by Sir John Willison in his *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party:* "The notion, which even Sir John Macdonald did not altogether reject, that the statesmen of the south favored the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 in order to allay discontent in Canada, and thus avert the annexation of new states imbued with the northern sentiment against the system of black slavery" (vol. 2, p. 138).

[2] W. H. Russell found "a general impression that the Federals will keep their armies in good humor at the end of the war by annexing Canada if they can" (*Canada, its defences, conditions and resources*, Boston, 1865, p. 74). See also Villiers and Chesson, *Anglo-American Relations, 1861-5*, London, 1919, p. 146: "It seems pretty certain they [the North] would have wished to annex Canada if through our action they lost the rebellious states of the South."

[3] The *Leader*, Toronto, Jan. 17 and 22, 1861.

viewed the crisis from a higher level, as, for instance, in the issue of January 17, 1861, when it said: "We regret that a great nation, which is making a great experiment in self-government, should even seem to fail." Canada, it was pointed out in a later issue, could not be a mere onlooker in the coming struggle, since already both North and South were claiming that they would get recruits in Canada. It would be the duty of the provinces, said the *Leader*, to maintain an armed neutrality with "a respectable show of regular soldiery, sufficient at least to produce an impression of preparedness".[1]

A rather subtle literary influence was at work in Canada during 1861 in the letters of W. H. Russell to *The Times*, which were reprinted by the *Leader* and other Canadian papers. The *Leader* appears to have had some doubts regarding Russell's fairness to the North,[2] though in justice to *The Times*' correspondent it must be said that he was not at any time a defender of either slavery or the secession movement. Indeed, in words that could not be mistaken, he told the English people that the cause of the South was the cause of slavery; and both the Richmond *Examiner* and the Memphis *Appeal* declared that his letters were hostile to the South.[3] Nevertheless, in all that Russell wrote on the American crisis there was a smug complacency that must have been galling to the North and that tended to create a wrong impression in other countries and among readers unacquainted with American conditions. As far as the North was concerned, Russell was too impartial for a people on the verge of war. If he had been out and out for the South, they would have understood him. If he had been out and out for the North, they would have lionized him. The American people, in the early months of 1861, were not in the mood to go behind words and find motives. In England and in Canada the result of Russell's writings was to create doubts

[1] The *Leader*, Toronto, April 30, 1861. At the close of the Civil War, in its issue of April 11, 1865, the *Leader* said: "From the brave people of the South, struggling to achieve an independence which they conceived to be more desirable than union we have never withheld our sympathy." Again on April 13, 1865, the *Leader* said: "Their cause we looked upon as a just one. . . . A longing for national independence was a righteous longing."

[2] "Determined as Mr. Russell may be to write in all fairness of the progress of the Revolution, he will be apt to see more or less through Southern spectacles when penning his thoughts in the latitude of Charleston or Richmond."—The *Leader*, May 14, 1861.

[3] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, vol. 3, p. 432, footnote.

regarding the honesty of purpose of the North, and this indirectly tended to create some feeling of sympathy for the South.[1]

Once the Southern states had begun to break away a new influence began to make itself felt in Canada in the influx of both Northern and Southern elements. Canada had for some years been a popular summer home for wealthy Southerners, and early in 1861 many families began to arrive, the heads of the households being already in the Confederate forces. There were also some Southern families who had sold out everything and came to Canada to make it their permanent home, at least until conditions had become straightened out in the South. These Southern refugees were natural y bitter towards the North, and during the whole of the war they tended to alienate Canadian sentiment from the cause for which Lincoln was holding fast On the other hand, the element that came in from the North was not of the type that would counteract Southern propaganda. "Skedaddlers", leaving their homes in the North to evade military service, depressed the labour market in Canada and lowered wages in some trades.[2] There were pacifists as well who had left the country or been driven out.[3] The *Leader* of May 1, 1861, reported that "already a large number of persons have come from the United States to Canada."[4] It was also stated that the Southerners had made vain endeavours to secure privateers in Canada and that the

[1] "Russell's letters present a curious picture of uncertainty in the public mind, and though Russell's personal sympathies were with the North he seems to have felt something of contempt for a nation that did not appear prepared to fight for its own existence. . . . When once Mr. Russell had revealed to British readers how uncertain the Americans themselves were as to their rights under the Constitution it was very difficult for our people to understand the vehement patriotism and enthusiastic conviction in the righteousness of the Union Cause which followed so quickly the indecision of March and April."—Villiers and Chesson, *Anglo-American Relations*, 1861-5, London, 1919, p. 28.

[2] I have been told that this was particularly true of the cabinet-makers, many, of them Germans, who came into Canada in large numbers as soon as the Civil War began.

[3] The *Leader* of April 24, 1861, reported the arrival in Toronto of E. F. Loveridge proprietor of the Troy, N.Y., *Evening News*, whose views on the war had run counter to those of his fellow citizens, and who had been run out of town. The *Leader* was inclined to sympathize with this victim of war fervour.

[4] In Montreal W. H. Russell found "a knot of Southern families, in a sort of American Siberia at a very comfortable hotel, who nurse their wrath against the Yankees to keep it warm and sustain each others, spirits. They form a nucleus for sympathizing society to cluster around" (*Canada: its defences, condition and resources*, Boston, 1865, p. 76).

North had tried to buy arms and ammunition in Canada, though successful in obtaining only a small supply from some private dealers in Montreal. The Montreal *Pilot* stated that American recruiting officers (presumably Northern) had already been in Montreal and had secured a few volunteers.[1] The Montreal *Commercial Advertiser* of April 24, 1861, said that telegrams had been received from the Governor of Massachusetts and others, asking for the loan of rifles and other war material. The *Advertiser* commenting on this took the ground that Canada should remain strictly neutral, and even that the government should see to it that there was no exportation of contraband, no enlisting for either army, or any other participation in the conflict on the part of Canadians. The question of selling arms to the belligerents was brought up in the Canadian parliament on April 26, 1861, but the government at that time made no statement of its attitude. The legislature of Nova Scotia made no secret of its sympathy with the North, and on April 13, 1861, the day that Fort Sumter fell, Joseph Howe moved a resolution expressing regret that there should be civil war between the States and expressing the earnest hope that peace would soon be restored.[2]

Thomas D'Arcy McGee did much during 1861 to set very plainly before the Canadian people the real issues that were involved in the American crisis. He had lived in the United States for a number of years before coming to Canada, and as a journalist there had gained real insight into the problems facing the republic. During 1861 he delivered a number of addresses in which he

[1] Quoted by the *Leader*, Toronto, May 2, 1861.

[2] "On the morning of Saturday, April 13, 1861, Hon. Mr. Howe announced to the House of Assembly that by a telegram just received at the Merchant's Reading Room it appeared that Fort Sumter had been attacked, and was bombarded all day yesterday. He alluded at some length to the deep regret he felt at this melancholy news, so injurious to the interests of the civilized world. He was followed to the same effect by the Hon. Mr. Johnston, Dr. Tupper, Mr. Harrington, attorney-general, Mr. Henry and Mr. Tobin. Hon. Mr. Johnston suggested to the Hon. President of Council the propriety of the House passing some resolution expressing their sympathy in the calamities which have befallen the neighbouring states. Hon. Mr. Howe agreed to do so. When the House resumed at three o'clock Hon. Mr. Howe moved the following resolution in connection with the troubles in the United States: 'Resolved, that the House has heard with deep sorrow and regret of the outbreak of Civil War amongst their friends and neighbours in the United States; that this House, without expressing any opinion upon the points in controversy between the contending parties, sincerely lament that those who speak their language, and share their civilization should be shedding each other's blood, and desire to offer up their fervent prayers to the Father of the Universe for the restoration of peace.'"—House of Assembly Debates, 1861, sitting of Saturday, April 13.

pointed out that Canada was bound to be touched by the struggle, that the Canadian people must not expect to remain quite unmoved, and that there would be certain duties for them to perform. Possibly the best statement of his views is contained in the speech which he delivered at London, C.W., on September 26, 1861, just a few months after the war had begun.[1] In this speech he said:

> The interests of Canada in the American civil war are, in general, the interest of all free governments, and in particular the interest of a next neighbour, having a thousand miles of frontier and many social enterprises in common with the Republic. We are ourselves an American people geographically and commercially, though we retain our British connection; our situation is continental, and our politics, in the largest and best sense, must needs be continental. . . . As a free people, with absolute, domestic self-government, with ocal liberties, bound up in an Imperial Union, governed by our own majority constitutionally ascertained, we are as deeply interested in the issue of the present unhappy contest as any of the States of the United States; while as a North American people, Canadians are more immediately and intimately concerned in the issue than any other population.

Tracing the growth of the ultra-slavery doctrine, the speaker pointed out that of late years a new conception of slavery had overrun the South, that it was national not local, constitutional not temporary, and this fallacy had begotten a false philosophy to strengthen it and a false theology to sanctify it. The seceding states, if successful in the conflict, would set up a "pagan republic, an oligarchy founded upon caste, the caste upon colour". Slavery would soon occupy larger space on the continent than freedom, and the Gulf of Guinea would become familiar with the new flag flying from the masts of slave-ships. With two republics, where there had formerly been one, an era of military rivalry would inevitably follow.

> Are we prepared to welcome a state of permanent and still-increasing armaments for North America; are we prepared by word, or deed, or sign, or secret sympathy, to hasten the advent of such times, for our posterity, if not ourselves? I sincerely trust that a wiser and a nobler sense of our position and duties will direct and instruct us to a wiser and nobler use of whatever influence we may possess with the mother country in this present exigency.

[1] McGee, *Speeches and Addresses, chiefly on the subject of British-American Union*, London, 1865, pages 12-32.

The specious influences that were being used to turn away Canadian sympathy from the North were dealt with at some length, and reference was also made to the commercial interests of Canada that were involved in the struggle. In his conclusion, McGee said:

> As between continental peace and chronic civil war; as between natural right and oligarchical oppression; as between the constitutional majority and the lawless minority; as between free intercourse and armed frontiers; as between negro emancipation and a revival of the slave trade; as between the golden rule and the cotton crop of 1861; as between the revealed unity of the race and the heartless heresy of African bestiality, as between the North and the South in this deplorable contest, I rest firmly in the belief that all that is most liberal, most intelligent, and most magnanimous n Canada and the Empire, are for continental peace, for constitutional arbitrament, for universal, if gradual emancipation, for free intercourse, for justice, mercy, civilization and the North.

In the course of the next four years, McGee had to revise some of his opinions of the American republic, as far as Canada was concerned, but at no time did his faith in the justice of the anti-slavery cause weaken. Recognizing, however, that a victorious North might become intoxicated with the lust of conquest, he warned Canadians to guard well their heritage.

> I do not believe that it is our destiny to be engulfed into a Republican union, renovated and inflamed with the wine of victory, of which she now drinks so deeply—it seems to me we have theatre enough under our feet to act another and a worthier part; we can hardly join the Americans on our own terms, and we never ought to join them on theirs.[1]

The crisis of 1860-61, with the four years of civil war that followed, were powerful influences leading to the confederation of the provinces in 1867. The spectacle of four years of desperate fighting not far from the Canadian border, the increase in the size of the Northern armies year by year, and the warlike spirit of most of the Northern States warned Canadians that their divided and unprotected country would be easy prey if an evil

[1] McGee, *Speeches and addresses*, p. 34. Not only in Canada but in the United States as well McGee preached good-will. Speaking at Fort Popham, Maine, on Sept. 29, 1862, he said: "I speak the general settled sentiment of my countrymen of Canada when I say that in the extraordinary circumstances which have arisen for you, and for us also, in North America, there is no other feeling in Canada than a feeling of deep and sincere sympathy and friendliness towards the United States."

spirit prompted an attack on Canada after the South was subjugated. It is quite clear that such military preparations as were made between 1861 and 1865 would have offered small obstacle to Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan had they led their armies across the border line. After events, however, showed the victorious armies more anxious to return to their homes than to start out on further wars, and in the restoration of the South the federal government at Washington had a domestic problem that transcended in importance any foreign affair. But if the American situation hastened the Canadian confederation it also profoundly influenced the form that the confederation was to take. The weaknesses revealed in the American constitution were object lessons to the men who met at the Quebec conference. The new Canadian nation was to build on another foundation.

English opinion of the civil war is often referred to as having influenced Canada. There is evidence that it had much less effect than is generally supposed. As spectators two thousand miles nearer the contest, Canadians were little inclined to take their views of the war at second-hand. Clear evidence of the side that was favoured is seen in the fact that, while Canadian aid to the South was almost negligible, it was estimated that 40,000 Canadians were enlisted in the armies of the North during the four years of the war.[1]

FRED LANDON

[1] "Sir John Macdonald told me that he had ascertained that there were 40,000 Canadian enlistments in the American army in the course of the Civil War"—*A Selection from Goldwin Smith's Correspondence*, Toronto, n. d., p. 414.

THE IMPERIAL IDEAS OF BENJAMIN DISRAELI[1]

THERE are historical characters about whom controversy never dies; and the completion of the authoritative life of Disraeli leaves us still disputing over the qualities of its hero's genius. The biography fills in the one important gap which remained in our knowledge of mid-Victorian politics. We know now all that we are likely to know about the extraordinary man, whose predominance in British politics between 1868 and 1880 overshadowed everything else in Parliament. But, in spite of all the knowledge we possess, the personality and career of the great conservative chief will still continue to attract devoted admirers and fierce critics. For he was the very spirit incarnate of British party politics and exhibited his genius chiefly in that disputatious world. The present essay cannot hope to escape the charge of prejudice; for its subject—the character and value of Disraelian imperialism—is likely to remain the storm centre of Disraeli's life.

Since, in his case, the man is the policy, it is necessary to lay down a few preliminary propositions about Disraeli's normal motives, for these materially affect the final judgment on his imperial practice.

In the first place Disraeli's critics must be as honest with him as he was with himself, and admit that ambition was the dominant force in the career of this completest of modern egotists. Being all things to all men, he usually spoke the truth to honest men, and John Bright was honest. "After all," he said one night to Bright as they were leaving the House together, "what is it that brings you and me here? Fame! This is the true arena. I might have occupied a literary throne, but I have renounced it for this career."[2]

[1] Monypenny and Buckle, *Life of Disraeli*, 6 vols.; London, 1910-1920.

Kebbel, *Selected Speeches of the late Rt. Hon. the Earl of Beaconsfield*, 2 vols.; London, 1882.

Beaconsfield, *Novels*, etc., 11 vols.; London.

Fraser, *Disraeli and his Day*, London, 1891.

[2] Bryce, *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, p. 30. The incident was related to Lord Bryce by Bright himself.

That is his later amplification of the intention he originally announced to Melbourne of becoming Prime Minister. It has been unusual, in later British history, for anyone so little certificated for government purposes to cherish such an ambition, and to succeed so perfectly; and, in a sense, the greatest thing Disraeli ever accomplished was his purely personal triumph. It was not simply that English politics in early Victorian days were the exclusive property of English gentlemen, but that Disraeli, besides his crushing natural disadvantages of race, birth, and fortune, made a shockingly bad start. He was in debt from the first; he entered society through the wrong people, Lady Blessington, D'Orsay and all that set; he overdressed and overacted his part—to the end he seems to have found naturalness difficult, for his hero-worshipper, Fraser, noted that when he made his official entry into the House of Lords "the first three steps which he took were stagy." Yet this ringleted and overdressed young Jew, without fortune or character, hated almost to the last by the gentlemen to whom he supplied intelligence, and out of touch with the country over which he ruled, drove Peel, the greatest English politician of the century, from power, imposed his mind and discipline on a crowd of country squires, and died leader of the Conservative party, and the only confidential adviser whom Queen Victoria acknowledged in her later life. I have called Disraeli egotist, but this is egotism raised to the pitch of genius, and seemingly justified by its success.

Apart from his amazing personal triumph, the other positive achievement of Disraeli's career was the creation and disciplining of the most powerful party in modern history. It is only too easy to confuse this fact with the legislation which the party accomplished and the causes it defended. Admirers have spoken of the piercing insight which led Disraeli to the heart of questions like the government of Ireland or the social problems of England. But epigram is not statesmanship, and in any case these panegyrists really misinterpret their man. Circumstances forced him, when young, to fight for himself, and in that struggle for existence legislation was never an end in itself, but something to be hindered or advanced as it hindered or advanced his career. An outsider who aimed at the prime-ministership of Britain, *consule Planco*, could not afford to give himself to great causes, or cherish objective interests in politics. But, with a certainty of instinct unique in

nineteenth century politics, Disraeli determined to connect his fortunes with those of a party in difficulties, and to secure his personal success through its reorganization and victory. According to Fraser, whose authority was Malmesbury, Disraeli originally joined the Tories at a hint from Lyndhurst, who "pointed out to him that the clever young men of the day were going in for Radicalism; that the Tories sadly wanted brains: and advised him to join their party."[1] There is hardly another chapter in English political history so extraordinary as that of the combined rise of Conservatism and Disraeli to their astonishing success in 1874. It would be a work of supererogation to elaborate too carefully the necessary connection between Disraeli's political views and those of his party. They gave him a political lever and he gave them a working head. He had certain literary and fantastic views, given vogue for a time by his novels and the "Young England" group, and these might be called conservative:—"To change back the oligarchy into a generous aristocracy round a real throne; to infuse life and vigour into the church as the trainer of the nation . . . to elevate the physical as well as the moral condition of the people by establishing that labour required regulation as much as property; and all this rather by the use of ancient forms, and the restoration of the past, than by political revolutions founded on abstract ideas."[2] But none of these vague generalities, except his oriental devotion to rank, and especially to monarchy, affected his working programme. Enlightened opportunism was his best guide, and he always placed the actual success of his party before any principle to which it might seem to be committed In 1852 Disraeli saved the future for conservatism by manoeuvering his party away from the protectionism which seemed its *raison-d'être*. By 1867 he had educated all but a handful up to the point of adopting a measure of Reform which astonished even the Liberals. He triumphed in 1874 because, neglecting actual measures and programmes, he had restored the spirits of the Tories, disciplined their ill-ordered ranks, made them the most united force in Parliament, and convinced them that they had only to wait and trust him for a certain victory. His budgets, apart from the contributions of the Treasury officials, had been pretentious failures. His experiments in reform had shocked the men of fixed principle around him. *But he never made an error in party tactics.* Other men might be enthusiasts for social reform, or experts in foreign

[1] Fraser, *Disraeli and his Day*, p. 72.

[2] *Life of Disraeli*, ii, pp. 171-172; quoted from the general preface to the novels, 1870.

policy, or masters of finance; but for Disraeli party was the only reality, and his devotion to that doubtful goddess was twice blessed. It gave the conservatives power, and it fulfilled Disraeli's one supreme ambition.

On his way to power, he displayed a lack of moral sensitiveness, and more especially a singularly low standard of truth and honour, which offended and still offend precisians. In the conventional phrase he "did things which no gentleman is supposed to do"—as when he lied about his canvassing Sir Robert Peel for office,[1] or, at a crisis, exhibited what seemed to be a telegram from Constantinople when no telegram existed.[2] "Madam", said Lord Derby in 1852, when Queen Victoria questioned the suitability of Disraeli for place, "Mr. Disraeli has had to make his position, and men who make their positions will say and do things, which are not necessary to be said or done by those for whom the positions are provided."[3] But other men, faced with the dilemma between principle and place, have chosen otherwise than Disraeli chose—they missed his perfect success, but then their ambitions strayed beyond the personal equation. In the long run the British Empire was built on principles more rigorous than were exhibited in Derby's condescending complacency, or Disraeli's violation of the first prerequisite of manly virtue—Truth.

But it is time to turn to the field in which he won his last and most resounding victories, and met his last shattering defeat.

There are few greater disappointments in store for the student of British politics than the results of a detailed study of Disraelian imperialism. A master of phrases and general sentiment, the great man gave invented the shibboleths for a new age of empire-builders, but careful analysis of his acts and words serves only to reveal his ignorance of detail, and his failure to grip essential facts. His actual achievements or ideas may be grouped under three headings, according as they concern the consolidation of the colonies distinctively British, the position and dignity of the crown, and the creation of an imperial foreign policy.

Contrary to common belief, Disraeli showed little foresight or inspiration in his relations with the self-governing colonies. It seems possible that he misunderstood the whole situation. This, after all, was natural. His education had been purely European;

[1] *Life of Disraeli*, ii, pp. 389-392. The biographer's comment on the incident is singularly unconvincing.

[2] Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, p. 21.

[3] *Life of Disraeli*, iii, pp. 290-291.

and where literature—and that of a flashy type—had not dominated him, his mistress had been London society. Now colonial life in early Victorian days was rude, masculine, unattractive to literary gentlemen and social aspirants. The only real imperialists before 1885 were those stout-hearted men who saw the inconveniences and risks of colonial autonomy and accepted them cheerfully; who looked beyond apparent ingratitude and present misuse of freedom to a great future commonwealth. I do not say that Disraeli sinned more deeply than his fellows, but I do say that to the growth of an alliance of self-governing dominions round the mother country he contributed absolutely nothing. While Russell and Grey were facing the consequences to the colonies of the introduction of free-trade, Disraeli was lamenting the "destruction of our colonial system." He profoundly distrusted the ideas of Wakefield, almost the most fruitful thinker of the day on imperial subjects.[1] In spite of facile phrases about consolidating our colonial empire, he was panic-stricken at the most ordinary difficulties of colonial administration. The perennial fishery troubles between Canada and the United States wrung from his timid heart the famous and fatal sentence in his letter to Malmesbury: "These wretched colonies will all be independent, too, in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks."[2] Problems of Canadian defence, and the eddies of Canadian politics round that subject made him ask, not long before Confederation: "What is the use of these colonial dead-weights which we do not govern?"[3] In his famous exposition of conservative principles at the Crystal Palace in 1872 he frankly confessed, for party purposes it is true, that at the moment when Grey, Elgin, Wakefield, and all the others were laying the foundations, deep and sure, for a great union of self-governing sister states, he had given up all as lost. "When those subtle views were adopted by the country under the plausible plea of granting self-government to the colonies I confess that I myself thought that the tie was broken."[4] But, it may be answered, it was a Tory government, with Disraeli predominant in it, which completed the legislation required for Canadian Confederation, and another which, between 1874 and 1880, attempted to force on a similar movement in South Africa. Here it is necessary to discriminate. Canadian Confederation was

[1] *Life of Disraeli*, iii, pp. 233 *seq.*
[2] *Life of Disraeli*, iii, p. 385.
[3] *Life of Disraeli*, iv, p. 476; in a letter to Lord Derby, September, 1866.
[4] *Selected Speeches*, ii, p. 530.

brought to the culminating point under a Whig Colonial Secretary, Cardwell; the Tories only took over and perfected his work. Further, the credit for all the conservative energy in reorganizing the new empire must be given, not to Disraeli, but to Carnarvon. Carnarvon is one of the admirable forgotten figures in British politics. He was a persistent, if not always wise, advocate of colonial autonomy and federation. His friendship with Canada was deep and lasting. He was the moving spirit in South African affairs in Disraeli's last cabinet, and, in 1885, he attempted in vain to mediate between Parnell and Salisbury on the Irish question. He was the true Conservative-Imperialist. But he had little in common with Disraeli. He resigned from Derby's government in 1866, rather than countenance the "leap in the dark"; and John A. Macdonald's discerning eye noted at once the difference which his resignation made. With Buckingham as Colonial Secretary in place of Carnarvon, Macdonald thought that "the Union was treated as if the British North America Act were a private bill, uniting two or three English parishes."[1] Again, during the troubled years after 1874, so long as Carnarvon carried on colonial administration, his chief took little interest in his work, and exchanged disparaging notes about him with the Queen—Carnarvon was "Twitters" to the Prime Minister. It is not unfair, then to say that while the Conservatives, like the Radicals, produced statesmen who saw the course which British autonomous colonization would follow, Disraeli was not one of them. He was too ignorant of political realities to recognize the greatest of such realities in his time.

The secret, at once of Disraeli's reputation as a prophet of imperialism, and of his failure to understand the essence of the modern British commonwealth, lay in his view of the crown and its relation to the whole British state. In so far as sincerity was possible to so cynical a humourist, Disraeli was sincere in his effort to revive the royal power. In season, and often, as his colleagues thought, out of season, he exalted the royal office. It was to become once more the centre of the constitution; and the rights and welfare of the common people were, in some way never adequately explained by him, to draw their strength from it. What more natural than that an oriental worshipper of Bolingbroke's Patriot King should dream of a great empire, centred in and dominated by England—it is never Britain to him, Scotland being

[1] Pope, *Life of Sir John A. Macdonald*, i, p. 313.

a hilly country where his aristocrats shot grouse—and adorned by an Empress at the head? Disraeli had always been a Londoner, even at Hughenden, and believed that London society dominated the world far more than it really did. From London went out the casual adventurers who fleeced the flocks and found the nuggets in which "the colonies" abounded. To London came, now and then, fortunate outsiders, resolute to buy their way into Disraeli's aristocracy with their new riches, as Disraeli had forced his way in "on his head". In London were the government offices where, in those days, amateurs of leisurely habits deluded themselves, through five hours each day, into the belief that they were holding the empire together. And London was the court of the "Faery Queene" of the nineteenth century. To this London Jew, Disraeli, it was natural to think of colonial society as "of a fluctuating character",[1] and to believe that colonists were "interested in the titles of the Queen", and that "they look forward to return when they leave England; they do return; in short they are Englishmen." It seemed impossible that such a centre should not continue to dominate the empire. In the most ambitious public utterance he ever made on empire, Disraeli hinted at the machinery of his new London empire. It must have an imperial tariff. Its unappropriated lands must be secured for the enjoyment of "the people of England." Its defence must be defined "precisely" by a military code; and the whole fabric should crystallize in "the institution of some representative council in the metropolis."[2] It is customary to give all this as the best proof of Disraeli's prophetic vision. "That," says Mr. Buckle "is the famous declaration from which the modern conception of the British Empire largely takes its rise." That, says the voice of common sense, is the kind of prophecy produced in juvenile debating societies where the chief qualities of the prophet are an unlimited exuberance of fancy, and a heroic intolerance of fact. Whatever the future may contain, it is clear that the facile project of Disraeli's speech would have brought early disaster to his empire. Even protectionists use guarded language about an imperial tariff. The continuance of English control over unappropriated lands might early have proved the motive for a succession of new colonial declarations of independence. The military assistance given by the dominions to the mother country has been the consequence, not of war office regulations, but of absolute liberty; and the idea of an imperial

[1] *Selected Speeches*, ii, p. 231: from his speech on the Royal Titles Bill.
[2] *Selected Speeches*, ii, pp. 530-531: from the Crystal Palace speech.

parliament remains still the property of school-boys and doctrinaires. Let it be granted that Disraeli stimulated in the crowd that curious entity, the imperial instinct. The time has surely come when, along with that concession, it may be freely admitted that the only details of imperial organization to which he ever condescended were not merely infructuous, but fatal to that which he sought.

At the head of this empire Disraeli sought to place, and succeeded in placing an Empress. The East, and more especially the idea of India, had always exercised a curious fascination over Disraeli. His novel *Tancred* is perhaps his chief confession of orientalism, but his general ideas were suffused with a rosy eastern light. The ideal of government which appealed most to his imagination was such an one as Indian circumstances had imposed upon Britain in India—an autocrat at the head, the pomp and circumstance of government studied, or even exaggerated, and the squalor of self-government judiciously excluded by efficient bureaucracy. So arose the famous Royal Titles Act, by which Disraeli added a new title to the British crown. There is no more wonderful illustration of the control exercised by the minister over his party than that he should have forced the gentlemen of England, conservative and intolerant of vain show, to deck out their constitution with oriental finery. All that was best in British conservatism halted or opposed. The Earl of Shaftesbury took the lead in opposition in the House of Lords, and among the ninety-one who voted with him were "eight dukes and many habitual courtiers." In view of later events it is interesting and significant that Shaftesbury should have spoken of the days when "Empress" would pass to "Emperor". The title would then, he said, "have an air military, despotic, offensive, and intolerable, alike in the East and West of the Dominions of England."[1] I have already quoted from the speech in which Disraeli rebutted the criticisms levelled at his project. That speech is really the most damning document in the criticism of Disraelian imperialism, with its flippant wit, its profound misunderstanding of the British temper, and its misconception of the modern British commonwealth. The act which it defended tarnished the simple greatness of the royal title, and now, after a war which has proved singularly fatal to emperors, it is conceivable that the Imperial title, even with regard to India, may soon pass into the lumber-

[1] Hodder, *Life of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, iii, pp. 368-371.

room of history where nations fling their pretentious mistakes.[1]

It is easy to overpraise and to underestimate the influence of this strange personality in politics. All these titles and grandiose ideas undoubtedly stimulated men's minds to think imperially; but it was an irrational influence. It gave no guidance, and it often bred dangerous illusions. A little glamour gathered from a tour in the Levant, a knowledge of India which affected to despise the greatest living authority on India, John Lawrence,[2] and a profound belief in London society could not supply even Disraeli with the equipment necessary for sound imperial work. He may be dismissed from the company where Chatham and Burke are the ruling spirits, and the rank and file are silent, audacious, self-sacrificing pioneers; he had not paid the price in thought or experience to entitle him to any epithet but that of organizer-in-chief of imperial pageants.

It is impossible, in any treatment of Disraeli's view of empire, to disconnect from the constitutional framework the ambitious foreign policy which dominated his last years of power. The two are aspects of one great fantastic system. But the fires still glow beneath the surface of these so-called historic questions, and even now it is hard to avoid partizan views.

British foreign policy throughout the nineteenth century suffered from a constant failure in systematic thought and an incapacity to calculate nicely the material means required to secure British diplomatic ends. The greatest of British diplomatists, William III, had long ago defined the policy of the

[1] Disapproval of Disraeli's conversion of the British royal title, for Indian purposes, into an Imperial one, is quite compatible with a sincere admiration for the insight which he showed in recognizing the oriental reverence for kingship. His detailed knowledge of India was limited, and he seems to me to have at first overestimated the extent of the Indian Mutiny, but he never displayed more genuine statesmanship than in one paragraph of his speech in parliament, July 27, 1857: "You ought at once, whether you receive news of success or defeat, to tell the people of India that the relation between them and their real Ruler and Sovereign, Queen Victoria, shall be drawn nearer. You must act upon the opinion of India on that subject immediately: *and you can only act upon the opinion of Eastern nations through their imagination.* . . . You ought to issue a royal proclamation to the people of India, declaring that the Queen of England is not a Sovereign who will countenance the violation of Treaties: that the Queen of England is not a Sovereign who will disturb the settlement of property; that the Queen of England is a Sovereign who will respect their laws, their usages, their customs, and, above all, their religion. Do this, and do it not in a corner, but in a mode and manner which will attract universal attention and excite the general hope of Hindostan, and you will do as much as all your fleets and armies can achieve" (*Life of Disraeli*, iv, p. 92).

[2] Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, ii, p. 648.

Balance of Power; but the Balance demanded for its maintenance a constant fund of information and an unusual vigilance and flexibility in readjusting the details of policy. In the nineteenth century British statesmen had awakened slowly to the greatest new fact in diplomacy, the discovery made by Prussia of the scientific application of armed force to diplomacy. They were still dreaming of Vienna, and the happy indolent old days. They were imperfectly informed amateurs in a world of strenuous experts; and nothing saved them but the influence on diplomacy of certain economic and moral forces of which England happened to be the chief centre. She had started well from 1815, and the general level of her statesmanship was well above the European level. Her wealth and credit were decisive factors in a world growing ever more and more commercial. Her shipping and her navy were supreme. And in the struggle of genuine nationalism to obtain its rights in Greece, Belgium, Italy, and Hungary, Britain through Palmerston had played a not ignoble part, and acquired a moral credit which told even in military calculations. But, as the Polish and Schleswig-Holstein crises proved, she was bankrupt in armed force; and therefore naturally deprived of influence in certain probable diplomatic situations. It was absurd to fancy that the despatch of 15,000 troops to Canada was any real answer to the possible invasion of that country by the United States; or that Belgian neutrality would be assisted by an expeditionary force—hinted at by Gladstone[1]—of 20,000 British troops to be despatched to Antwerp; or that 40,000 or even 60,000 troops would be of use in a great European war. Liberals and Radicals sinned at least as grievously as their opponents, for they accepted moral responsibilities, as in the case of Belgium, without any clear view of how they were to fulfil them. They thought that effective moral control in Bismarck's Europe could be combined with rigid economy in the services. The diminution of British influence which Palmerston was forced to acknowledge in his last days was due partly to a natural desire of Englishmen to refrain from touching purely European questions, partly to the entire insignificance of the British power of attack.

Into this world Disraeli entered with the intention of doing something to restore British prestige. His first step involved him in serious moral discredit. On the way to crush risings in her western provinces, Turkey had inflicted a series of hideous out-

[1] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, bk. vi, ch. 5.

rages on her Bulgarian subjects. Now, since the Crimean war, England had felt in part responsible for Turkish good behaviour, and, when public opinion throughout the country demanded redress, Disraeli replied with a flippant wit, unworthy even of himself and a hundredfold unworthy of Great Britain. The episode gave occasion, too, for one of those cynical violations of truth and honesty, of which, as has been suggested above, Disraeli was now and then guilty. "On one occasion," says Sir Edwin Pears, "the Prime Minister produced what appeared like a telegram in the House of Commons and declared that he had a telegram from Sir Henry Elliot saying that the alleged atrocities were gross exaggerations. . . . Two or three years afterwards, when Sir Henry was ambassador at Vienna, he informed Mr. Washburn, who was dining with him, that he had never sent such a telegram to Mr. Disraeli and that the importance which the public attached to his imaginary telegram placed him in the difficulty of deciding whether he should remain under the imputation of sending a message, which Washburn and I knew to be a perversion of the truth, or should state the fact and thus throw the responsibility upon Mr. Disraeli."[1] Apart from the baseness of falsehood so naked and unashamed, Disraeli's conduct was the more scandalous because it was playing with matters of life and death and honour for party purposes. But our concern is rather with the imperial aspect of the struggle which followed, the Russo-Turkish war and the threat of English intervention, the conclusion of the San Stefano Treaty, the neutralizing of the Russian victory by Britain at Berlin, and the final peace with honour. Leaving out of account the possibly excessive invective of Gladstone, and the merely party aspects of the Eastern Question, the real problem is whether Disraeli's forward policy was worthy of the Empire it was planned to serve, or deserved the praise which ever since it has continued to receive. It must be conceded at once that the net result of the minister's tenacity and audacity was the re-establishment of British prestige in Europe, and more especially in the mind of Bismarck. Opinion matters much, and there have been days when the opinion held in Europe of British strength or weakness has prohibited or created war. Prestige is always a national asset, even when the root of it is in the illusions of the other side. Such prestige Disraeli added to the Empire at Constanti-

[1] Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, chs. 2-3. The opinions of this very first-hand authority are useful as a comment on Mr. Buckle's overfavourable verdict on Disraeli's conduct throughout this affair.

nople and Berlin. But in registering his victory he was dependent on resources of moral and financial credit which his conduct did much to dissipate. Great Britain in 1878 surrendered something of the character which Castlereagh, Peel, Russell and Palmerston had secured for her. European statesmen noted that Disraeli laughed at massacre, came to an understanding with the offender, and then, under pretext of safeguarding his protegée, robbed her of Cyprus.

But there lay, implicit in his policy, a danger as great to the British Empire as moral fault. The Prime Minister had played a gambler's part in the Russo-Turkish affair, and Britain can afford insignificance more easily than she can reckless diplomatic speculation. Disraeli was really profoundly ignorant of all the details covered by his grandiose phrases. What are we to think of a statesman, assisting the Queen to fling the nation into war, who could write thus to his mistress of a possible military operation, should war break out:—"It is Lord Beaconsfield's present opinion that in such a case Russia must be attacked from Asia, that troops should be sent to the Persian Gulf and *that the Empress of India should order her armies to clear Central Asia of the Muscovites and drive them into the Caspian.*"[1] That is the sentence of an impossible romancer, and suggests England hurried towards inconceivable disaster, guided by an irresponsible novelist. It was precisely the same when it came to military preparations. Disraeli talked jauntily of England being ready for a second or third campaign and persisting till she had achieved her objects. But he continued to speak of 40,000 men[2] as possibly adequate in a war against one of the two great military powers of Europe, tired no doubt, and drained of her resources, but still capable of arming ten or twenty Russians for every individual British regular. Even after Plevna, and the horrors of the advance over the Balkans, Sir Edwin Pears counted some 120,000 Russian troops at a field day on Turkish soil; and Skobeleff was one of the Russian generals. To face that military situation, Disraeli could show perhaps some 50,000 British troops under generals whose experience had been confined to trivial African and Indian wars.[3] A flicker of fantastic military imagination led him to concentrate

[1] *Life of Disraeli*, vi, p. 155.

[2] *Life of Disraeli*, vi, p. 106. He writes angrily to Corry because the Intelligence Department has increased its estimate to 65,000 men, plus 10,000 for Gallipoli.

[3] *Life of Disraeli*, vi, p. 102. In November, 1876, he calculated that in twenty-one days Britain could place on board ship 34,000 regulars, 5,000 reservists, and 7,000 militia.

7,000 native Indian troops at Malta in May, 1878—"a final and decisive stroke," says Mr. Buckle. But apart from the fact that Russian staff intrigues speedily called all available Indian troops towards Afghanistan, the military value even of an Indian division was exactly *nil* as things then stood. The world looks critically on the strategy of politicians playing at war; and the only possible defence is that, like other Orientals, Disraeli meant to win by cunning what he could not snatch by force.

But it was skilful bluff, and it effected its object? Perhaps it did, yet the revelations of Mr. Buckle's last volume, and especially the correspondence between Queen and minister suggest that Beaconsfield himself was self-deluded, and that he dreamed of impossible Asiatic campaigns with the Duke of Cambridge organizing defeat at Headquarters, the army unsupported by a popular enthusiasm, the country divided, and a more ghastly Crimean war at hand to lower once again British military reputation. Imagination and courage, a gift for phrase-making and a mastery of party intrigue, were no longer adequate weapons for a minister who wished to play the great game in Europe without allies.

It seems to me that as Disraeli, using attractive phrases which meant something real but vague to himself, began the public movement which we now call imperialism, so, by his audacious and spirited use of British credit and moral power in Europe, touched with the successful gambler's gift of trickery, he set the nation high among the predatory European peoples. But Britain has since expanded in a direction and on principles directly opposed to those indicated by Disraeli. Evading at last the illusion which Disraeli imposed on her that she was already a great military power, Britain discovered through the storms of Ypres, Loos, and Gallipoli that in a world where wars really happen, Peace with Honour is to be purchased only by strength and honest purpose and at an infinite cost of life and wealth.

Among great men, there are broadly two distinct varieties, those who serve something other than their own purposes, and egotists centred on themselves. Disraeli, like Napoleon, was an egotist, with all the great egotist's attractiveness and mystery. For such men the ordinary moral convictions are in abeyance; and having called them moral-less the critic may proceed to admire their dexterity, imagination, success, and so forth. Disraeli's reputation will always depend on his faultless leadership, the brilliance of his satire and invective, and his strange personality.

It is really irrelevant to try to prove that this or that act of his served the common man or saved the world. But, even as egotist, he must stand in the second rank, for, unlike Napoleon, he did not touch realities. There was this of greatness in Napoleon, that in spite of all his egotism he was hero enough to contradict his own meaner purposes, and on his way to selfish power he re-made France and Europe. But Beaconsfield never rid himself of a certain flashy unreality. He did not know his world well enough to discern whither he was driving it. His friendship towards Turkey proved a decisive factor in her ultimate destruction. His hostility towards Russia was used by Bismarck to strengthen the predominance of Prussia which ultimately overturned the balance of power and produced the war of 1914. And, friend as he had been of France, his policy at Berlin produced an alienation between France and England which postponed for a quarter of a century their natural relationship of cordial understanding. He had taught himself how to become Conservative Prime Minister, and give his party a dec sive victory in Britain. But, in spite of his reputation, he was no master of world politics. His models in statecraft were Bolingbroke, who was a charlatan, and Shelburne, whom no one trusted. He so improved upon his masters that, in spite of a philosophy as dubious as Bolingbroke's, and a character much more worthy of distrust than Shelburne's, he became Prime Minister of England, the idol of a great party, and, for a season, a kind of *stupor mundi*. But his ends were transient because his sense of reality was perverted. He had his reward; then power passed quickly into the hands of realists who knew what blood and iron meant, and enthusiasts willing to sacrifice their all for causes greater than themselves.

J. L. MORISON

GERMAN PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA, 1914-1920

SINCE Anton Fleck's excellent study of Canadian economic conditions (reviewed in the *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, vol. xviii), German interest in Canada has been reduced to a minimum. The intervening war has severed the ties which previously existed, and it would almost appear that Canada has now slipped beyond the ken of Germany.

At the outbreak of the war, an anonymous writer published an interesting article in the leading colonial magazine, the *Koloniale Rundschau* (no. 8/10, pp. 446-471), entitled *Die Amerikanisierung Canadas*, in which he drew attention to the fact that though there is danger of Canada being Americanized, this is only on the surface, and does not affect national feeling, which is firmly established. The writer points out the disastrous effect of the German-Canadian tariff war, stating that trade between the two countries would be in future impossible if Germany did not make such concessions to Canada that her exports to Germany could reach the same level as Germany's to the Dominion, and that the ratio of two to seven was untenable. Germany, he writes, can but desire to see Canada remain *in statu quo*, and it would be to Europe's disadvantage if she should ever cease to be an independent nation. To strengthen his argument, he quotes Bouchette's words (thus proving his acquaintance with Canadian economic literature not generally known): "L'intérêt et le devoir manifeste de l'Europe est de favoriser le développement en Amérique d'une puissance qui deviendra le contrepoids des Etats-Unis." His concluding remarks show prescience: "Ich bin der Meinung auf Grund langer Kenntnisse kanadischer Verhältnisse, dass dieser Krieg, wie er auch für England ausfallen mag, Kanada dazu bewegen wird seine Stellung zum Mutterlande zu revidieren"—meaning that Canada would take her place in the councils of Empire as a full-grown nation.

In 1916 Dr. Deckert published a volume entitled *Die Länder Nordamerikas in ihrer wirtschafts-geographischen Ausrüstung*

(Frankfort-on-the-Main). It is non-controversial, and deals with the United States and Canada. It is little more than a re-hash of the author's excellent *Nord-Amerika* in Sieber's geographical series, with the addition of a few figures brought up to date. These figures are well, though—perhaps inevitably—drily explained.

Professor Oppel's trustworthy little *Landeskunde des Brit. Nordamerikas* (Göschen, Leipzig, 1906) has suddenly turned up again in a green paper cover as one of a series on Germans abroad. But with the exception of a few textual changes and a new title, it is a reprint, and a reprint on very bad paper too.

In 1918 a very silly pamphlet by a gentleman named E. Berg, entitled *Kanada* (Dresden, pp. 16) was sprung on an ignorant public in a collection called *Bibliothek für Volks und Weltwirtschaft*, edited by Professor von Mammen. This pamphlet gained an extensive circulation. It is highly controversial, though it is amicably inclined toward Canada, which, it seems, is destined to play the part of David and slay Goliath (the United States)! The writer informs us that the following doggerel is often sung in Canada:

> Ja, Asien und Afrika,
> Die sind dem Tod Amerika!
> In deiner Mammonsgier ging dir verloren,
> Dass nur Europa dich geboren!

For the rest, the mistakes are so grotesque as to be comical. For example, "Canada has been a Dominion since 1763" (p. 4); "the restless French element still dominates numerically, and hence England has not succeeded in establishing an equilibrium, as Niel's [*sic*] Rebellion in 1885 proves" (p. 4); "Yukon, Mackenzie-District and Keewatin are States" (p. 5); "Quebec and Ottawa are only separated by the Ottawa River" (p. 13); Nova Scotia is an island (*ib.*); the capital of New Brunswick is St. John, and the capital of Quebec Montreal (*ib.*).

L. HAMILTON

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A SPANISH ACCOUNT OF NEW FRANCE, 1608

Papers relating to New France in the Spanish archives must in all probability be so few in number, and the task of searching for them so unprofitable, that when they chance to come to light it is worth while printing them *in extenso*. The following documents are published here through the courtesy of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, the managing editor of the *American Historical Review*. Dr. Jameson received them, together with many documents relating to the early policy of Spain with reference to Virginia, 1606-1612, from Miss Irene A. Wright of Seville, who had copied them in the Archivo General de Indias in that place; and, perceiving at once their interest from the standpoint of Canadian history, he kindly offered them to the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

The documents are of importance, since they reveal the sort of information concerning Canada which was current at the Spanish ports in the year when Quebec was founded, and since they throw some light on the relations existing between the French and other European ships in North American waters at that time.

The translation has been done by Professors M. A. Buchanan and J. E. Shaw, of the department of Italian and Spanish in the University of Toronto.

I. *Letter from the Council of War to Martin de Aroztegui, harbour-master at San Sebastian, October 22, 1608.*[1]

Por algunas cosas ymportantes del servicion de su magestad se a acordado en la Junta de guerra que yo escriva a Vuestra merced (como

[1] A. G. I. 140-2-9.—Indiferente General—Registros—Correspondencia del Secretario del Consejo con sus resoluciones y Reales disposiciones para autoridades y particulares —Años 1607 a 1617.

lo hago) que con mucho secreto y destreza se ynforme de los pilotos y personas que an venido en los ultimos navios de Terranova a san Juan de luz y otras partes de esa provincia si en su viaje a yda o a buelta an Topado o visto algunos navios de yngleses o otros setrentionales que ayan ydo a aquellas partes y particularmente a la virginia que es azia la costa de la florida y si an entendido algo de sus desinios y en que paraje los toparon y que derrota llevavan y en que tiempo y quantos navios y de que portes y si an tomado Tierra en alguna parte donde y como y con que fuerças y de todo lo demas que en esta conformidad Pudiere vuestra merced entender dellos de que me avisara Vuestra merced con mucha particularidad y la mayor brevedad que fuere posible.

Al Behedor y contador martin de aroztegui en san sebastian.

y assimismo mirara Vuestra merced si se allaron en esa provincia dos pataches o çabras de a 50 Toneladas con pilotos y marineros diestros de aquella navegacion de Terranova que quieran yr alla con la persona que los huviere de llevar a su cargo y passen desde alli asta la virginia y aviendo Reconoscido alli lo que se les ordenara buelvan a dar Razon dello y quanto costaran estos pataches (que an de yr a solo esto) por este viaje y el sueldo y bastimento de la gente de mar que en ellos huviere de yr dios guarde a Vuestra merced como deseo de madrid y de otubre 22 de 1608 Juan de çiriça. [*Hay una rúbrica.*]

[*Translation.*]

On account of certain important matters affecting the service of his Majesty, it has been decided in the Council of War that I write to you (as I am doing) to beg you to find out, with great secrecy and cunning, from sea-captains and persons who have arrived in the latest ships from Terranova [Newfoundland] at San Juan de Luz and other parts of that province, whether on their voyages, either coming or going, they have met or seen any English or other ships of northern nations which have been to those parts and especially to Virginia, which is toward the coast of Florida, and whether they have heard anything of their plans, and whereabouts they met them, and what their course was, and at what time, and how many ships there were, and of what tonnage, and, if they have landed anywhere, where and how and with what forces, and anything else that you might learn about them regarding these matters. About which you will inform me with much care and as soon as possible.

To the harbour-master and pay-master Martin de Aroztegui at San Sebastian.

And likewise you are to see whether there can be found in that province two *pataches* or frigates of about fifty tons, with captains and seamen experienced in the voyage to Terranova, who will be willing to go there with the person who shall be appointed to take charge of them, and go from there to Virginia, and after finding out what may be ordered of them, return to report on it, and how much these *pataches* will cost (they are intended only for this voyage), and the amount of the pay and victualling of the seamen who will go in them. God bless you as I wish. From Madrid, October 22, 1608. Juan de Çiriça. [*There is a seal: really a flourish to the signature, making it legal.*]

II. *Letter from Martin de Aroztegui to the Council of War, November 1, 1608.*[1]

En conformidad de lo que Vuestra merced me manda por su carta de XXII de Octubre, me he ynformado de los pilotos y marineros que han venido en los ultimos navios de terranova si an topado o visto algunos Navios Septentrionales que ayan ydo a aquellas partes y particularmente hazia la costa de la florida y lo que algunos marineros que de ordinario navegan a Terranova me han dicho es que de algunos años a esta parte an ydo a la nueba francia que es en la costa de la florida, navios de franceses al Trafique con los yndios o salvajes que bajan a la marina de provincias diferentes y es gente domestica y traen Martas y pellejos y algunas conchas de nacar o perlas y refieren que por alli que es a 45 Grados esta cerca la mar del Sur y que ven en ella navios con belas y hombres barbados como los de aca y que en medio dia passan las Canoas por tierra en la distancia que ay desde la dicha nueva francia al otro mar y que los dichos navios de franceses no conssienten que vayan otros a aquel paraje al dicho Trafique y que si quisiesen podrian con facilidad pasar la gente por la dicha angostura al dicho mar del sur y refieren tambien algunos de los Maestres y marineros de las naos que fueron a ballenas que es en el estrecho de la dicha nueva francia que este año han ydo dos navios de Guerra franceses al dicho Trafique pero que no han visto otros de ninguna nacion que ayan ydo de armada por aquella costa a la yda ni a la buelta sino son los franceses y españoles que van al trato ordinario de la pesqueria del bacallao y ballenas. Esperansee algunos navios que fueron a ellas y bendran a fin deste mes de noviembre y dellos se podra saver si ay mas nouedad de la que refieren los que han llegado.

Dizen tambien estos marineros que en la dicha nueba francia o Canada ques en la dicha costa de la florida a la banda del oeste ay abun-

[1] A. G. I. 143-5-2.—Indiferente General—Cartas remitidas al Consejo.—Años 1608.

dancia de arboles grandes de pino para navios de 500 y 600 Toneladas y a la marina y tanbien Tabla de tres y quatro palmos de ancho y de muy buena qualidad y que se pueden traer en Vigas con solo pagar el flete y la comida y saldrian mas baratos que los que vienen de la Noruega y aun pienso que encargandolo a los dueños de la naos que van a la pesqueria a aquel paraje, los Traerian a precio mas acomodado y seria de mucha ymportancia por la falta que de ordinario ay en españa de los dichos arboles.

Zabras y pataches se hallaran aqui del porte que Vuestra merced pide y pilotos y marineros platicos de aquella navegasion (en caso que el consejo se resuelba de que vayan a ella) y embio aqui la relacion de lo que costaran los sueldos y el bastimento y los fletes de los bajeles con lo demas que me a parecido prevenir para el fin que se pretende y las armas y municion y cada dos pieças de fierro colado pues las Tiene aqui su Magestad es muy necesario que lleven para todo lo que se puede ofrecer y rreconocer aquellas costas. . . .

~~Muy rreconocido~~ quedo de la merced que Vuestra merced me haze y offrece ques muy conforme a quien Vuestra merced es y al desseo grande que tengo de servir a Vuestra merced en quanto Valieren mis pocas prendas y asi suplico a Vuestra merced que en quanto se ofreçiere haga experiencia de lo que digo y se assegure que no abra en esta provincia quien con mas voluntad le procure servir.

Al señor Joan Antonio Caparroso no le he dado certificacion de lo que se le deve porque estubo algunos messes ausente destos pressidios y conforme a las ordenes de su Magestad y a lo que obliga la conciencia siempre se bajan estas ausencias y yo le he escripto que no quiero otro juez sino su propio decreto y que yo pasare por lo que el me aconsejare que se deve azer en esto avemos pasado algunos dias pero you procurare vencer como mejor se pueda esta dificultad y le dare su certificacion como vuestra merced me lo mando que no me he olvidado de ello. Nuestro sseñor guarde a Vuestra merced muchos años como desseo. de ssan sebastian primero de Noviembre 1608.

Martin de aroztegui. [*Rubricado.*]

Advierto a vuestra merced que para la virginia se puede navegar en qualquier Tiempo y para Terranoba ques en la costa de francia no se puede yr sino desde fin de março en adelante respecto de que se yela alli el mar.

y despues que he escripto lo de arriba he savido que agora dos años fue un navio flamenco de Rotradam al dicho estrecho de la nueva francia donde se pescan las ballenas y tomo Tres navios de Vezinos de san sebastian de grasas y este año se entiende que no an ydo por las Treguas.

Tanvien Advierto a vuestra merced que si no ay mucha prisa se podrian hazer en el pasaje las dos zabras que an de servir para este viaje valiendose su Magestad de la Tabla y madera que tiene en los astilleros reales de leço y encargando la fabrica dellas al Coronel don no de Ydiaquez superintendente de aquellos Astilleros pues teniendo su Magestad como tiene el dicho material y con mill ducados mas que se añadan para la xarcia o lonas y aparejos se haran las dos zabras de a 50 Toneladas y despues se vendran vender a muy buen precio y se escusara el gasto de los sueldos de los que se hubiesen de Tomar de particulares para este efecto.

(Al dorso se lee:) San Sebastian—A.J.D.C.—Martin de Aroztegui 1 de noviembre 1608.—Ynforma de lo que a entendido acerca de la virginia.

Aguardasse a la ynformacion que se a pedido a Pedro de ybarra governador de la florida. [*Hay una rúbrica.*]

[*Translation.*]

In conformity with your orders to me in your letter of October 22, I have inquired of the sea-captains and seamen who have arrived in the latest vessels from Terranova, whether they have met or seen any northern ships which have been to those parts, and especially toward the coast of Florida, and what some sailors who frequently go to Terranova have told me is that for some years there have been going to New France, which is on the coast of Florida, French ships to trade with Indians or savages who come down to the coast from different provinces. They are kindly people and bring martens and pelts and some shells of mother-of-pearl or pearls, and they report that in that region, which is at 45 degrees, the Southern Sea is near, and that there are seen upon it sailing vessels and bearded men like ourselves, and that in half a day canoes cross overland the distance between the said New France and the other sea, and that the said French ships will not allow anyone else to go to those parts to trade, and that if they chose people could easily cross the above-mentioned neck to the aforesaid Southern Sea. And some of the masters and seamen of the ships that have been to hunt whales in the straits of the said New France, report that this year there have gone to the trade two French men-of-war, but that they have seen no others of any nation going armed to those coasts, either when going or coming, except French and Spanish [ships] that go to the usual cod and whale fishing. Some ships are expected that have been at that fishing, and they will arrive at the end of this month of November, and we can find out from them whether there is any more news than has been reported by those who have arrived.

These sailors also say that in the said New France or Canada, which is on the said coast of Florida on the western side, there is an abundance

of large pine masts for ships of 500 to 600 tons, and at the shore, and also timber three or four palms broad and of very good quality, and that it can be brought in beams by paying only the freight and the food, and they would turn out cheaper than those which come from Norway, and I even think that if the masters of the ships which go there to fish were given the order they would bring them at a more moderate price, and it would be very important considering the lack of such masts ordinarily in Spain.

Frigates and *pataches* can be had here of the size you ask for and captains and sailors experienced in that voyage (in case the Council decides to undertake it), and I am sending herewith a reckoning of the amount of the wages and food and the charter of the vessels and the rest that I have thought well to foresee for the object desired, and the arms and ammunition, and two steel pieces for each ship, since his Majesty has them here, and it is very necessary for them to have them for all that may turn up or be met with on those coasts. . . .

I am very grateful for the kindness you show me, which is like the person you are, and is equalled by the great desire I have to serve you as far as my small ability will go, and I beg you to test my words in all your needs, and to be assured that you will find no one in this province who will serve you with more zeal.

I have not given Señor Joan Antonio Caparroso the certificate for what is owing to him because he was absent from this post for some months, and, in accordance with his Majesty's orders and my own conscience, these absences are always subtracted, and I have written to him that I require no other judge but his own decision, and that I will grant what he advises to be done. A few days have passed in this way, but I will endeavour to overcome this difficulty, and I will give him his certificate as you have ordered me. I had not forgotten it. May our Lord keep your worship for many years as I desire. From San Sebastian, November 1, 1608. Martin de Aroztegui. [*Sealed.*]

I call to your attention that one can sail for Virginia at any time, and for Terranova, which is on the coast of [New] France, one cannot sail until after the end of March, because the sea freezes there.

And after writing the above I have learned that two years ago a Flemish ship from Rotterdam went to the said straits of New France where whales are hunted, and captured three ships from San Sebastian laden with blubber, and this year of course they did not go because of the truce.

I also mention that, if there is no great hurry, the two frigates for this voyage could be built in the roadstead, if his Majesty were to use

the timber that he has in his royal dockyard at Leço, putting Colonel Don No [*sic*] de Ydiaquez, the superintendent of the dockyard, in charge of the construction. For, since his Majesty has the said material, with a thousand ducats more for the rigging or canvas and tackle, the two frigates of 50 tons can be made, and afterwards they can be sold at a good price, and the expense can be avoided of the wages of the men that would have to be engaged especially for this work.

[*On the back is written:*] San Sebastian—A.J.D.C.—Martin de Aroztegui, November 1, 1608—Reports what he has learned regarding Virginia.

Information sought from Pedro de Ybarra, governor of Florida, is awaited. [*There is a seal.*]

THE MEMORIAL OF J. M. CAWDELL, 1818[1]

THE following memorial, which contains a brief autobiographical account of the memorialist, an English officer who came out to Canada at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is marked by a number of naive and interesting presentations of fact and opinion, which give it a rather special interest.

The writer of the document selected Canada, in all good faith, as the most promising field for the exhibition of his talents and the reaping of the consequent honours. In accordance with the traditions and examples of the period, he invaded Canada in the capacity of a junior officer, and the earlier stages of his life at Montreal and York appeared very promising for his designs. At York, however, he made his primary mistake as a political navigator in not adjusting, with the necessary speed and adroitness, his sails to the shifting quarters from which the winds of favour blew. Plainly, an aspirant for rank and honours who so ignored the first principles of political advancement in a colony where such brilliant students of the art as the Robinsons, Allans, and Strachans were rising to power, had little chance for success, however highly he might rate his personal qualities. But our memoralist's demonstration of his incapacity for successful government did not end there. Not only did he handle his sailing craft badly, but the very talents on which he prided himself were employed to his own undoing. He publicly, though anonymously, lampooned Lieut.-governor Gore in a satirical piece called "The Puppet Show." Now, as may be observed in the files of the early colonial newspapers, this particular form of *lèse Majesté* was by

[1] Can. Arch., Sundries, U.C.

no means uncommon in the days when Governors really governed. But it was seldom indulged in by those who aspired to favours under the existing régime. The anonymity of our hero did not last long; hence his unfortunate gift of a satirical pen not only put him beyond the pale of Governor Gore's favour, but incurred the resentment of General Brock, who banished him to St. Joseph's Island at the head of Lake Huron, whither the military and Indian establishment of Michinimackinac had been removed when that post was handed over to the Americans. Banishment to what he not inaptly describes as "the military Siberia of Upper Canada" would, of course, cut him off from the social and political atmosphere of the larger colonial centres in which he had planned to rise to distinction. Minor military favour appears to have procured his transfer to Fort William Henry. Smarting, however, under a sense of resentment, he threw up his military position, sold his commission, and resolved to settle down in Upper Canada as a landed proprietor.

The outbreak of the war with the United States led to his offering to continue his military service, hoping to get command of a militia company in Upper Canada. This offer was accepted on condition that he should raise the company. Failing in this, he obtained a minor position at York just before its capture by the Americans, and after a few shiftings found himself in the neighbourhood of Fort George, in the Niagara district, shortly before it was captured by the Americans. The continued success of the enemy led to further retreats to Stoney Creek and Burlington Heights. Here we have an interesting sidelight on the expectation of the British forces, that they would have to retreat to York at least, and very probably to Kingston, thus virtually leaving the enemy in possession of Upper Canada. With the aid of the "small portion of genius" to which he modestly lays claim, our hero devised a very romantic scheme for outwitting the Yankees and holding a section at least of the conquered territory in clandestine allegiance to the British Crown. His plan, communicated to the higher military and civil authorities, was nothing less than the establishment of a provisiona' government in the township of Gainsboro, in the county of Lincoln, which, through a declaration of neutrality, he hoped to preserve from being overrun by the Americans. There he would quietly raise and train a company of militia, ready to co-operate with the British forces, when, as expected, they should return to reconquer Upper Canada the following year. He started out on his mission a week before the

expected general retreat of the British forces, and actually issued a few proclamations as to the new government. But, as he reminded Sir Peregrine Maitland, the plans of genius are seldom appreciated by the slow-witted masses. He soon discovered that his plan would not work, and was on the point of returning to headquarters, which was still at Stoney Creek, when the rebel Wilcox, a well-known figure in pre-war politics, scouring the country with a detachment of horse, was unkind enough to take him prisoner and send him to Fort Niagara. Colonel Murray, however, turned the tide at Stoney Creek, and the advancing British forces captured Fort Niagara, thus liberating the President of the provisional government of the township of Gainsboro.

Apparently taking a hint from this incident, and finding it impossible, as he indicates, to overtake fortune by the most strenuous pursuit, he tried the plan of retiring to the country and sitting still for a while, if perchance fortune might overtake him. This device brought him the offer of a temporary position in charge of stores at Holland River, near Lake Simcoe; which, however, ended with the Peace. He next had hopes of becoming King's Printer for the Upper Province, under the patronage of Sir Gordon Drummond. The latter, however, left the Province, and the arch-enemy Gore returned to blast his budding prospects and to add insult to injury. His only weapon of attack or defence being his satirical pen, he sought once more to wage unequal combat by launching another lampoon under the title of "The General and his Aid de Camp." This appears to have brought upon him a still further indignity at the hands of the governor, which, helpless to meet, he could only endure with self-consuming wrath and uncharitable appeals to Heaven for vengeance.

Again he retired to the country, living as a remittance man in poverty and obscurity. Even his slender remittance, however, was cut off, and after a brief conflict between poverty and pride, in which, apparently, the former triumphed, he was reduced to the abysmal depth of employment as a common pedagogue. Even in such degradation, as he assures his Excellency, he cannot always forget that he was once a gentleman. What a sidelight on rural education in those days! Nor can he suppress the desire to have again some little rank, and to be of some small benefit to his neighbourhood. He finds that any ignorant clodhopper, however good as a farmer, a neighbour, or a citizen, is put into the commission of the peace, while he, with his genius and his early, if distasteful, initiation in law, is overlooked. He has drawn the

attention of the attorney-general to this monstrous anomaly, but without attracting a syllable in response.

It is to be remembered that this memorial was addressed to Sir Peregrine Maitland, for whom the sanctity of the office and person of the lieutenant-governor was of an exalted character. One can anticipate the increasing antipathy with which he must have regarded the presumption of the writer in his criticism of the executive government, and the horror and alarm with which he learned of the lampooning of a previous viceroy by one who, while regretting the effect upon his personal fortunes, seemed to regret still more his inability to have retaliated more effectively on the governor. Nor, assuredly, would his mind be relieved in finding that the closing paragraphs of the appeal for restoration to viceregal favour revealed in vigorous activity the *cacoethes scribendi* which still afflicted the applicant. With bland assurance, he informs Sir Peregrine that he has been putting on paper his thoughts and observations regarding the British system of colonization in Upper Canada, under the title of "The Canadian Patriot" and, as if that were not sufficiently alarming, that as a humble suitor to the muse he had from time to time produced a few trifles in verse, modesty forbidding his calling them poetry. Moreover, he is "endeavouring to connect the different pieces by versifying the different incidents that gave rise to them". The governor's mind would naturally revert to a couple of these metrical trifles and the incidents connecting them, as related in the earlier portion of the memorial. Pursuing this ingratiating vein, he suggests that "my highest pride might be gratified in being allowed to usher The Canadian Patriot and The Minstrel of Glencawdell into the world under the patronage of the illustrious names of Sir Peregrine and Lady Sarah Maitland". Now Lady Sarah Maitland was one of the numerous daughters of the lamented Duke of Richmond, whose tragic death by hydrophobia cut short his period as governor-general of Canada, and permitted his secretary and son-in-law, Peregrine Maitland, to find an extended lodgment in the North American provinces, first as lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and afterwards of Nova Scotia.

After reciting some further fruitless efforts through friends in London to rescue himself from obscurity, and "to me Obscurity is death," he frankly declares that "like our gallant Battalions on the glorious plains of Waterloo," after seeking reinforcements in vain, he is "determined to make one more desperate charge and

win the field or fall with honour." His memorial is the charge so appropriately designated as "desperate."

One can imagine the cumulative effect of all this upon Sir Peregrine. His reply, even when filtered through a refrigerating private secretary, still retains traces of the molten condition in which his righteous indignation first found vent. He expresses astonishment at the temerity of one who should seek to ingratiate himself with him by relating how he had lampooned the previous occupant of the exalted station which he then occupied. He upbraids him for applying opprobrious epithets—"clodhoppers", to wit—to persons placed in authority by the lieutenant-governor, and declines most emphatically, alike for himself and Lady Sarah, the suggestion of any publication from his pen appearing under their patronage.

It is only the lifting of a corner of the curtain on one of many minor private tragedies in the course of peopling a new country. Yet several important historical personages cross behind the footlights in this brief interval, and the artless contemporary setting of the stage affords some interesting glimpses of colonial life and historic incidents.

ADAM SHORTT

[*Transcript.*]

To His Excellency
Sir Peregrine Maitland
Knight Commander of the most Honourable Order of the Bath,
Lieutenant Governor of his Majesty's Province of Upper Canada
and;
Major General Commanding his Majesty's Forces therein
&c &c &c

The respectful Memorial of James Martin Cawdell Gent. formerly Ensign in his Majesty's 99th (late 100th Regt.)

Emboldened by your Excellency's Affability and Condescension, I have presumed to trespass on your Excellency's time and patience with the following Memorial.—

After passing thro' the Usual Classical Education in my Youth I commenced the Study of the Law in compliance with my Father's Wishes, tho' repugnant to my own, for at that time two other professions met my warmest approbation, tho' certainly very opposite to each other; I wished to devote myself to Literature by going to the University & Studying for the Church, or to wield a Sword in the service of my Country; to both of these my Father objected on the Account of his not

having either Wealth or Interest sufficient to advance me in either of these professions, in which case he observed unless some extraordinary accident should happen I might pass the whole of my life as a Curate or a Subaltern—In the course of my legal Studies, Systems of Colonization met my view, this was a Study I engaged in Con Amore, it suited the romantic bias of my disposition; Wealth was never a great Object with me, I wished for Rank & Honours especially as a Legislator in a Young Colony & I conceived the project of obtaining my wishes in visiting some of our establishments. Canada was the one I selected & at my Father's death which a few years afterwards happened I found myself in possession of a small Independence & abandoned the Law; I purchased an Ensigncy in the 99th (late 100th Regt.) & joined my Regt. in Montreal July 1810 then under the Command of Major (now Lt. Col. Hamilton) & on the route for this province—I can say with pleasure that the happiest period of my life was when enjoying the society of my Brother Officers & my life has been Sombre ever since I left it.

In the tour of Duty it became my turn to be stationed at York & the first half year passed as pleasantly as when at Head Quarters; in the Society & friendship of my Commanding Officer Capt. (now Major Martin) & a few of the Gentlemen in the Town: At the period of our Detachment's arrival at York; His excellency Lieut. Governor Gore was apparently on terms of intimate friendship with the then Attorney General Mr Firth & his Excellency recommended Capt. Martin to cultivate his friendship in the most pointed manner; At the time of my coming to York, the political Horizon was beginning to alter, Mr Firth was suddenly treated with coldness which rapidly increased into violent Animosity—Capt. Martin & I did not think ourselves bound in duty to take up his Excellency's private Quarrels & finding Mr Firth to be the Gentleman his Excellency had first represented him to be we continued on our usual terms of Friendship & hospitality with each other.

At this time Major General Sir Isaac Brock Commanded the troops of the Upper Province & resided at Niagara & to him thro' a confidential Friend of his Excellency's then residing at Niagara several unfounded and malicious insinuations of the Conduct of Capt. Martin & myself were told, & hints were thrown out to Capt. Martin at York that his Excellency expected the Officers of the Garrison would discontinue their intimacy with Mr Firth. But it happened unfortunately that Capt. Martin & I were not Courtiers sufficiently to sacrifice Friendship merely to please the caprice of Lieut: Governor Gore—In consequence more malicious reports were poured into General Brock's ear and which I understand, when he was appointed to the civil Government discovered that they were unfounded: He however in one of his visits to York,

mildly observed it was necessary that the Officers of the Garrison should not be objectionable to his Excellency he therefore ordered me to rejoin the Head Quarters of my Regt. & Capt. Martin to command at Fort Erie— I felt irritated with the conduct of his Excellency & committed a very imprudent Sally in writing a Satirical piece called the "Puppet Shew"—I confess the folly & imprudence of a Subaltern without Wealth or Interest to assist him, lampooning those so much his Superiors as Lieut. Governor Gore; but the impetuosity & warm blood of Youth indignant at being the Victim of Malice & Duplicity are the only excuses he can offer—This circumstance was speedily reported to General Brock & to heighten his resentment, it was insinuated to him that he too was an object of my Satirical pen, this was again wrong I had too great a respect for Gen^{l}. B's character to class him with the others—For this Second Offence I was reprimanded by the General who as a further punishment ordered me to S^{t} Joseph's then the Military Siberia of U. Canada, altho Col. Murray who then commanded the Reg^{t}. very kindly assisted me to the Utmost of his power to mitigate my doom; previous to my departure, in a pet, I sent in my resignation notwithstanding the friendly remonstrances of Col. Murray on my foolish imprudence in so doing.

His Majesty's acceptance of my resignation appeared in Gen^{l}. Orders in Jan^{y}. 1812, when I wrote to the Regimental Agents to sell my Commission; I still remained with the Reg^{t}. until the following June when I obtained his Excellency Sir George Prevost's leave of absence intending then to leave the Army proceed to Upper Canada & settle there as an Agriculturist on a lot of Land which I purchased whilst stationed at York & now in my possession, as I was preparing to depart, the Proclamation of War from the U. States arrived at William Henry where the Detachment I belonged to was quartered: I immediately signified my intention to L^{t}. Col. Macpherson who then commanded the Reg^{t}. that I should abandon my Idea of leaving the Reg^{t}. and would continue to do my duty in it as usual—In January 1813 we were stationed at the Isle aux Noix, Lake Champlain & having received information from London that the Agents had taken no Steps to sell my Commiss^{n}. I sold it to a person of the Name of Aherne who had been Quarter Master in our Reg^{t}. but for some time previous to this had resigned—My Intention at that time was to proceed to U. Canada in order to obtain, which I expected I should easily do, a Company of the embodied Militia there, as the brunt of the War seemed to be directed solely to that Quarter & the Lower province seemed to be entirely at peace—Sir George Prevost was pleased to accede to my request & with letters from L^{t}. Col. Hamilton (who on the suspension

of L^{t}. Col. Macpherson succeeded to the command of the Reg^{t}.) to Major Gen^{l}. Sir R. Sheaffe administering the Govern^{t}. of U. Canada I arrived at York a Month or two previous to it's Capture by the Americans (L^{t}. Col. Coffin & Major Loring were then on Sir R's Staff)—But the System of the U. Canada Militia being very different from the Lower province, Officers having to recruit for their Rank, the Bounty only being Eight Dollars a man & I having no local interest amongst the Inhabitants I was compelled to relinquish my Militia plan—Sir R. Sheaffe kindly promised to give me a Staff Situation as soon as any were to be filled up: Soon afterwards it became necessary to appoint an Assistant Engineer at York & Sir R. Sheaffe was pleased to appoint me to that situation—next day after my Appointment the American Fleet appeared off York—I was appointed to take charge of the Battery at the then Governm^{t}. House—After the Capture of York I proceeded with the troops to Kingston, there I found L^{t}. Col. Hamilton with a part of the Reg^{t}., my Esprit de Corps revived on seeing my old Comrades & his Excellency Sir Geo. Prevost on the application of L^{t} Col. Hamilton at my request in a General Order in June or July 1813 reinstated me in the Reg^{t}. with my former rank, but intimated to Lieut Col. H. that it was not in his power to give me Pay—In July two Companies in one of which I was posted under the Command of Cap^{t} Sleigh embarked in Sir James Yeo's Squadron were disembarked at the four Mile Creek near Fort George, this latter was then in the possession of the Americans:—here we remained until October when we retreated; the 100th with a few detached parties stationed as the Advance Guard at Stoney Creek under the Command of Col. Murray; General Vincent with the rest of his Division at Burlington Heights—Here it was generally considered the Campaign was ended as it was well known we were on the eve of retreating to York or most probably to Kingston—My next adventure will I am afraid induce your Excellency to suspect like a great many of my Acquaintances that I am a mere Lunatic, But if Your Excellency will not frown at my presumption, I can say with Hamlet

> "I am only Mad when the Wind is North & North East
> "When the Wind is Southerly I know a Hawk from
> "a Heronsue.—"

I do not consider it any Vanity to say that I am blessed with some small portion of Genius, & I am sure I need not observe to your Excellency that Persons of that character cannot at all times bring their plans, Ideas & conduct to the level of the Million, they must be often eccentric & of course are deemed by their cold blooded acquaintances as Insane—

Whilst at Stoney creek with the Reg^{t}. a Gazette arrived announcing my resignation & the appointment of my Successor; In such case it occurred to me I was at full liberty to execute an Eccentric plan which then occupied my thoughts.—

The Campaign we all believed was over & we were daily in expectation of retreating probably to Kingston—I wished to do something that would bring me forward to Notice & at the same time benefit my Country; In the capacity of a Subaltern I saw no likelihood of any eclat. —The desultory accounts we sometimes received thro' the medium of the newspapers, of the Guerril a Warfare took possession of my fancy & in my solitary rambles & musings round Stoney creek I formed a plan which I confess has more the Air of a Don Quixotte than of rationality— Had Success crowned my efforts—It would have deemed it rational enough, It's failure has stamp't me a Lunatic, "Ainsi va le Monde"; I gave the general outlines of my plan to Coll. Murray & my brother Officers, I did not enter fully into it as I was not Philosopher enough to withstand the Ridicule that I felt conscious must be attached to it— I also wrote an Account of it to his Excellency Sir G. Prevost & also to Major Gen^{l}. De Rottenberg as Administering the Government of U. Canada; The exact words of these Letters I do not remember but the purport was

> "That as soon as the Army retreated, I intended to go to some "Neighbourhood between Stoney Creek & Fort George where I "might find the Inhabitants Loyal, that I should endeavour to "organize a temporary local government, declare the Township "which I should happen to fix upon, Neutral & endeavour to "restrain the Americans from plundering the Inhabitants; And as "I fully hoped that the Army would again advance in the ensuing "Summer at which time I expected to join it with at least One "Company of well trained Militia & should hope to obtain his "Excellency's approbation of my Conduct; But should it happen, "which God forbid, that the Upper part of the Country should be "abandoned to the Enemy, I would still endeavour to keep my "ground, keep up the British Interest amongst the Inhabitants & "try to annoy the Enemy if I could."—

It was supposed the Army would retreat about a Week from the day I took my departure from Stoney creek, & on that day I intended to circulate a few Written proclamations to put my plan into effect—which I did—After residing three or four Weeks in the township of Gainsbro' (my self-created Government) & visiting every part of it, I found my

plan impracticable & was on the point of returning again to Stoney creek, as I learnt that Col[l]. Murray & our Reg[t]. were still there; When the Rebel Wilcox with 200 Horse came to the house where I lodged & carried a M[r] Lyon a Merchant at Gainsbro' & myself to Fort George, from thence we were transferred to Fort Niagara:—As it happened the Army did not retreat, Thanks to the superior Genius of a Murray who by his successful & invaluable exertions saved the Province or at all events the Ontario Districts of it. He advanced & captured Fort Niagara, by this event I made my Escape.—Sometime afterwards I renewed my solicitations to obtain a Commission in the Militia; but I found so many obstacles, not much chance of any vacancies; being thus tired of seeing my Volunteering & applications end in disappointment I determined instead of running after Fortune to sit still & try if she would run after me: I still had a Wish of volunteering by the side of my old Comrades & would have tried it once more, but Poverty forbade me, I had received no remittances from England & with only a few dollars in my pocket I retired into the Country hoping that with the Œconomy of rustic retirement I might exist till I could hear from my friends.—A few Months afterwards, Assistant Commissary Gen[l]. Crookshanks was pleased unsolicitated on my part to recommend me to take charge of Commissariat Stores at Holland River near Lake Simcoe—In this Situation I continued until the peace of course reduced me—The King's Printer was in a very declining state of health & was not expected to live more than a few months & had Sir Gordon Drummond remained in this province I had reason to expect the Appointment; but Lt. Gov[r] Gore returned once more to blast my prospects, I had learnt by letters from England He had endeavoured to ruin me in the estimation of some of my best Friends in London by the most malicious & unfounded insinuations against my Character, at the same time observing that he bore no Animosity against me & on his return to Canada would befriend me; this latter assertion I equally disbelieved as I was well aware of his vindictive disposition—

The King's Printership was vacant several Months when one of my Military Friends then stationed in York (Cap[t]. Cochrane, Gleng[y] Reg[t]) advised me to apply as he assured me he had it from undoubted Authority that my Name was favourably mentioned at the Government House on that subject & he believed he said that if I applied, I would obtain it.—Against my better Judgment I complied with his friendly hint, as I supposed it was only a trap to induce me to apply, then mortify me still more by a refusal—The Event confirmed & still confirms my prejudice—A Refusal was all I obtained, couched in very abrupt terms—Again irritated by his injuries & his insults I again imprudently set my Scribbling muse to work & produced another Lampoon ag[t] his Excellency

under the Title of "The General & his Aid de Camp". chiefly with a view of letting his Excellency understand I was perfectly acquainted with his insinuations against me to Mr Atcheson of London—This I am sorry to say caused me at the instigation of his Excellency to receive an Indignity which Oh My God, I was not able to resent.

Since my leaving the Army I have done severe penance for my impudence, by living in a state of Poverty & Obscurity, My Remittances from Eng and have been scarcely enough to buy me bread & milk & now that resource is for some time at least cut off, for a letter I received a few weeks ago from my Sister informed me that the Durham Bank has become bankrupt in which my Mother had a considerable sum of Money.

Eighteen Months ago after a conflict between Poverty & Pride I became a humble pedagogue of one of our Common Township Schools, the Income of which (40£, a Year) simply gives me an opportunity to breathe not live as out of that scanty pittance I have several debts to liquidate.—Since the Ice is broken I am tolerably resigned to my pecuniary situation; but please Your Excellency I cannot at all times forget that I formerly lived in the Situation & with the unimpeached Character of a Gentleman. I say, pecuniary situation, for Wealth I never was very solicitous after. If I can merely obtain my bread & milk, I am as I said before tolerably resigned, but in whatever situation I may happen to be I wish to be of some service to my Country or the Neighbourhood & to have some little rank—I have observed with regret that every Ignorant Clodhopper, (altho' respectable in their common situations of life, good Farmers, good neighbours & good Men) who scarcely know (will your Excellency pardon the Vulgarism) A, B from a Bull's foot is put into the Commission of the Peace—Some of their Ignorance & Injust ce have passed before my Eyes & I felt mortified to find New Commissions made out & I overlooked, when it was well known from my Education & former professional Studies I could be of service in that capacity—Altho' my Pride was hurt yet from seeing such repeated blunders committed by the County Magistrates, I felt it my duty to write a note some months ago to the present Attorney General offering my Services—I have not heard a Syllable on the Subject; & never more will I stoop to solicit the Aid of Secondary Characters, unless the established forms of Etiquette positively demand such a sacrifice.—I have been obliged to enter more into detail than consistent with the respect due to Your Excellency on Account of having Enemies in York some of whom perhaps might put on the semblance of friendship & stab me deeper than a more Manly & avowed Foe.

I have lately been putting my thoughts & observations on paper respecting the System of Colonization adopted by Great Britain &

particularly in regard to U. Canada, under the title of "The Canadian Patriot"—(by no means Ala Gourlay)—It would be highly gratifying to my feelings if Your Excellency would condescend to look it over before it was sent to the press—

I am likewise a humble Suitor to the Muse, I have to while away a tedious hour in the course of my life amuse myself with a few trifles in verse, I cannot aspire to call them poetry, I am endeavouring to connect the different pieces by versifying the different incidents that gave rise to them & I should feel proud very proud indeed if Lady Sarah Maitland would allow me the honour to transmit to her Ladyship the Manuscript to peruse—Should I be so happy as to obtain Your Excellency's permission it would accelerate my labours & in the course of a Week or two, they should both be finished—And perhaps, should they be found passable (Worthy of the honor, I am sure they are not) my highest pride might be gratified in being allowed to usher The Canadian Patriot & The Minstrel of Glencawdell, into the World under the Patronage of the illustrious names of Sir Peregrine & Lady Sarah Maitland—

Who is there amongst us, who has witnessed the benevolent exertions of our present Chief Magistrate & who should be under an unjust Sentence of Death would hesitate to appeal to Sir Peregrine Maitland to rescue him from his impending fate—I am in that situation, I feel myself rapidly sinking into Obscurity—to me, Obscurity is Death—Neither did I intend to trouble Your Excellency with these querulous Sheets until I had received letters from high Authority to prevent the disagreeable Indelicacy of a self-recommendation—Nearly two Years ago I received a Letter from a M^{r} Wilkinson, a special pleader in London—& one of my earliest & most intimate Friends, he informed me, that for some time One of the Hon^{ble} Mr. Bathurst's was his Pupil in the Law That he had interested his Hon^{ble} Pupil in my behalf & from him he was informed, that at present as Governor Gore had a personal dislike to me, it was against Etiquette to interfere, but when Governor Gore was recalled & there was then a probability of it he would use his endeavours with his Lordship the Earl of Bathurst for a Letter of recommendation; This M^{r} Wilkinson informed me and likewise added that when the wished for period arrived, He with my other friends would not forget me; I lost no time when I heard of Gov^{r} Gore's departure to write to my Friends in London to remind them of their promises, Twelve Months have elapsed and no Answers—My Old Regimental Friends having I believe left the Country, I have presumed to make the attempt myself & like our Gallant Battalions on the glorious plains of Waterloo wishing to be reinforced, yet seeing the promised aid too distant or too fluctuating to

be relied on, feel determined to make one more disperate charge and win the field or fall with Honour.—

Your Excellency's usual affability is the only Apology I can offer for troubling Your Excellency with this lengthy Memorial.

And with the profoundest Sentiments of Respect
I have the Honour to be
Your Excellency's
Most Obed^{t}. & very humble Servant
JA^{s}. M: CAWDELL
3^{d}. Dec^{r} 1818.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Report of the Public Archives for the Year 1918. By ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY, Keeper of the Public Records. Printed by Order of Parliament. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1920. Pp. 15; xvii, 208; ii, 71; 87.

DURING the period of the war, the work of the Canadian Archives was necessarily somewhat interrupted. The insecurity of transportation on the high seas prevented the receipt from England and Fran e of many additions to its shelves; and the transfer of a number of the Archives staff to duties connected with the war halted some of the projects which were in hand. It is significant that from 1916 to 1920 no report of the work of the Archives was published. Now, however, there has come from the press a report dealing with the work of the Archives during the years 1917 and 1918; and from it one gathers that the machinery of the branch is once more running smoothly.

The substance of the *Report* is included in four appendices. The first of these, Appendix A, contains the reports of the Index, Manuscript, and Map Divisions of the Archives. The Index Division announces that the index of the documents in the Archives has been proceeding apace, and that the work of indexing the documents relating to the War of 1812 in the Military (C) series has now been completed. The list of recent acquisitions reported by the Manuscript Division contains many items of interest and importance, some of which are referred to at greater length elsewhere in this issue (p. 237). In the Map Division, since the publication of the last *Report*, no less than 1,032 maps have been received, and many searches have been made in answer to inquiries.

The *pièce de résistance* in the volume is Appendix B. This is a collection of proclamations and ordinances, as complete as possible, issued by the British military governors in Canada during the period of military rule from 1759 to 1764. There is no phase of Canadian history which has been so misconceived and misconstrued as the government of Canada under the *règne militaire*. From the time of Garneau down to the present there have been writers who persist in regarding it—to use the language of Garneau—as "the most insupportable of all tyranny", whereas it was in point of fact an example of the most lenient type of

military rule. It has been usual too to say that after the conquest Amherst divided the country into three districts, Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, with a military governor over each. As a matter of fact, Murray was appointed military governor of Quebec nearly a year before the districts of Three Rivers and Montreal were set up by Amherst; nor was Murray bound by the instructions which Amherst issued to the governors of Three Rivers and Montreal. The result of this was that the arrangements for government in the district of Quebec differed radically from the arrangements in the districts of Three Rivers and Montreal. In the first case, the administration of justice remained in the hands of Murray and the British army officers; in the second case, it was thrown, in the first instance, into the hands of the French-Canadian captains of militia. To generalize, as is so often done, about the government of all three districts is dangerous and misleading.

In 1872 an admirable collection of documents relating to the *règne militaire* was published by the Société Historique de Montréal, under the supervision of the Abbé Verreau; and various registers of the military courts of the period have long been extant. These sources, however, do not appear to have been widely used; and it is to be hoped that the proclamations and ordinances now published by the Archives will do something toward clearing up the misapprehensions about the period still current. For the districts of Three Rivers and Montreal, the collection is fortunately complete, the original Montreal journal being in the Archives, and a photographic reproduction having been made of a copy of the Three Rivers journal which is in the possession of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society. The Quebec journal, however, has disappeared; and it has been necessary to gather together, from a variety of sources, copies of what documents appear to be still in existence. Under these circumstances the Quebec documents present some gaps. At the same time, however, the collection, incomplete though it is, represents a notable addition to the printed sources of Canadian history; and the Archives deserve the gratitude of historical students for the thorough and scholarly way in which the collection has been made available to them.

Appendix C is in the nature of a supplement to the collections of ordinances issued by the governors of Canada between 1764 and 1791, published in the Archives reports for 1913 and 1915-1916. It contains the proclamations issued by the governor-in-chief during the same period. Most of these proclamations are taken from the *Quebec Gazette*. Lastly, in Appendix D, there is completed the calendar of the Neilson papers begun in the report for 1913. The letters calendared run from 1824 to 1847, and include many of great interest from the standpoint of

political history. Notable among these is a series of letters written to John Neilson by William Lyon Mackenzie, both before and after the rebellion of 1837.

Taken all in all, the *Report* is a signal evidence of the admirable work being done by Dr. Doughty and his able band of assistants. Perhaps, however, we may be forgiven if, in conclusion, we venture to raise the question as to whether the practice, so long followed in the Archives reports, of including in one volume the most diverse materials is best calculated to serve the convenience of historical students. The Archives reports now fill a very good-sized shelf, and the problem of finding one's way about in them is difficult even for the initiated. One would find the reports easier to use if separate volumes, with distinct titles on the back, were devoted to the publication or calendaring of materials falling under the same heading.

W. S. WALLACE

Histoire du Canada. Par l'abbé ADÉLARD DESROSIERS et CAMILLE BERTRAND. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1919. Pp. 567; cartes et plans.

THIS new compendium of Canadian history is divided into nine books, subdivided into chapters. The first book relates the first discoveries up to the year 1603, and contains a chapter on the aborigines, discussing summarily the Indian type, the origin, languages, religion, political and social organization, and the arts and industries of the red-man. The second book covers the beginnings of Acadia and the foundation of Quebec and Montreal. The third starts with the establishment of the Royal Government in New France, and extends to the peace of Utrecht, 1713. The great peace and the colonial expansion are the subjects dealt with in the fourth; while the final struggle for supremacy on the American continent is narrated in the fifth. This brings us to the end of the French rule. In the sixth book, the autocratic rule of the governors, from 1759 to 1791, is described. The seventh contains the constitutional history of the different provinces and territories, from 1791 to 1841; the eighth covers the period of 1841 to 1867; and the last deals with Canada and its provinces, under the federative system, up to the year 1919. In the last three books a survey is made of the economic development, and the religious, educational, and social progress of the country.

The volume covers, in a necessarily condensed form, practically all the principal facts of Canadian history. Events are expounded in a clear, concise form, and the appreciations of men and of facts are, generally speaking, impartial, although, towards the end, the authors seem to have been slightly influenced by the point of view of the "Nationalist" political

school, and tend more towards the Liberal than the Conservative party.

Up to the present, histories of Canada published in French have been rather histories of French Canada, with the necessary references to that of other parts of the country; while those published in English have been the reverse; and nearly all have been written from a provincial or a racial point of view. The time has come for a truly Canadian history, written in a true Canadian spirit, giving to both English and French-speaking Canadians their just dues, pointing out their merits and disclosing their demerits. The two nationalities forming the Canadian people ought to learn that both races have the qualities and the defects inherent in their progenitors, and that it is only by blending the good and eliminating the bad that a great nation may be built. This new *Histoire du Canada*, has, in my opinion, covered the ground pretty thoroughly.

The literary and historical merits of the book are of a high order. The abbé Desrosiers is a *licencié ès lettres* of the University of France, and is principal of the Jacques-Cartier Normal School, Montreal; and his colleague, Mr. Bertrand, was for a number of years a college professor, and is now on the staff of the Public Archives of Canada.

I have detected a few errors in this work; but they are all of minor importance, and they certainly do not disparage the book. For instance, the name of Governor de Callière should be spelled without an "s"; and La Galissonière's name should contain but one "n". M. de Costebelle was appointed governor of Ile Royale in 1714, not 1715 (p. 205). On page 227, the responsibility for the assassination of Jumonville is laid upon Washington. This is still a debated point among historians. I have studied the question carefully, and my judgment is that Washington's memory should be relieved of this accusation. The whole affair was but a regrettable mistake. "Ste-Foye" (p. 261) should be written without the final "e". "Proctor" (p. 328) should be Procter—a very common error. The assertion (p. 371) that Papineau did not accept a seat in the Executive Council is incorrect. Papineau was admitted to take the oath as a member of the Executive Council of Lower Canada on December 28, 1820. He was also present at three meetings of Committees of the Council held on January 4, 8, and 10, and at the meeting of the Council held on January 15, 1821. A slight inaccuracy also occurs at page 530; when writing of the *coup d'état* of Letellier de Saint-Just, the authors say: "Mais ce gouvernement ne dura qu'une année, car le peuple se prononça de nouveau pour ses anciens maîtres aux élections de 1879." No general elections were held in the province of Quebec in 1879. Mr. Joly, called upon to form a new government, after the dismissal of the Boucherville

ministry by the lieutenant-governor, had obtained a majority of one only, in the general elections of May, 1878—the Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Arthur Turcotte, although elected as a Conservative, having rallied to and supported Mr. Joly's administration. Mr. Chapleau, the leader of the Conservative opposition, having succeeded in bringing over to his side of the House seven Liberal members of the Assembly, overthrew the government, and was called upon to form a ministry, which held power until the general elections of December, 1881, when his party was sustained at the polls by an overwhelming majority: Mr. Chapleau having 50 followers in a House of 65 members.

Messrs Desrosiers and Bertrand are to be congratulated on their meritorious performance in the already well-trodden field of Canadian history.

FRANCIS J. AUDET

Histoire abrégée de l'Ouest Canadien: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, et Grand-Nord. Par A.-G. MORICE, O.M.I. Saint-Boniface, Manitoba. 1914. Pp. vii, 163.

THOUGH this little book bears on its title-page the date 1914, it has only very recently seen the light. The explanation lies in the interesting fact that it was printed in 1914 in Lille, France, just before the outbreak of the war, and that it remained in Lille during the four years of the German occupation.

It is the first attempt to provide the schools of the Canadian West with a brief history of their own country. The necessity for this attempt arose, as the author explains in his preface, from the fact that the existing school histories of Canada are no longer sufficient for the needs of western schools: "outre qu'elles ne sont pas toujours aussi correctes qu'on pourrait le désirer, les pages rares qu'elles consacrent à notre pays sont loin de lui rendre la justice que lui est due." It should be said at once that Father Morice, as one would have expected, has done his work well. His narrative is brief, but accurate and well-balanced. His outlook is that of the imparial historian. One may observe that in his pages religious history occupies a very prominent place; but it is also worthy of note that he devotes attention to Protestant as well as to Catholic missionary enterprise. English-Canadians will perhaps find it difficult to agree with what Father Morice has to say about the North-West Rebellions; but even here the narrative is characterized by a notable moderation.

The book is suitably illustrated, and at the end of it is printed a very useful list of the governors and lieutenant-governors of the Canadian west, such as no previous author appears to have had the happy idea of compiling.

La naissance d'une race. Par l'abbé LIONEL GROULX. Conférences prononcées à l'Université Laval, Montreal, 1918-1919. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française. 1919. Pp. 294, et app.

THIS book is a reprint of lectures delivered in 1918 and 1919 at Laval University, Montreal, before French-Canadian audiences. The author is professor of Canadian history in that institution. He belongs to that French-Canadian Nationalist school which looks to M. Henri Bourassa for leadership He delves into history, so it seems, for data and arguments which would support and illustrate his preconceived opinions. And the result is a decidedly one-sided book. Very seldom does he trust other than Catholic and French authorities. Thus, he quotes repeatedly Faillon, Ferland, Rameau de Saint-Père, Sulte, Salone, J.-Edmond Roy, Thomas Chapais, Mgr. Amédée Gosselin, the Abbé Auguste Gosselin; but he mentions Parkman barely three times, and chiefly, of course, in disapproval. The latest and definitive edition of Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*, published by his grandson, is ignored. So is Professor W. L. Grant's edition of Lescarbot and Professor W. B. Munro's *The Seigniorial System in Canada*. What is all the more inexcusable, the book has no bibliography and no index. True, the author does give the sources for his statements, but too often he refers only to secondary sources. In short, the book lacks breadth of view, scientific spirit, and impartial treatment of its subject. At the same time, it must be said that the author has a pronounced literary bent, and that his lectures are couched in an elegant and vivid, although somewhat laboured, style.

The book gives a summary account of the origins of the French-Canadian race. It consists of five chapters entitled respectively; The French Colonists; Colonial Society; The Establishment of the Colony (two chapters); and The New Race. The first chapter dwells upon the emigration of settlers from France, and discusses their approximate number and their character. The second is devoted to a description of (*a*) the country, (*b*) the government, and (*c*) the Church. The third is the most detailed and most interesting, and perhaps the best. The last chapter shows the main characteristics, moral, social, and intellectual, of the French Canadians on the eve of the British conquest.

No reader would gather from these three hundred pages that there ever existed the slightest friction between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities or between the governors and the intendants of New France. How these animosities and prolonged quarrels jeopardized the vital interests of the colony, and seriously impeded its growth and progress, is all too well known to students of Canadian history. Likewise, the author fails to appreciate the energy and foresight, the true sense of realities, the statesmanlike figure, of Talon. In the same way he belittles

Colbert, contrasting his colonial policy with that of Richelieu to the disadvantage of the former. Perhaps he is unmindful or unaware of M. Ernest Lavisse's searching and masterly picture of le Grand Monarque's famous minister (*Histoire de France*, Paris, 1911, Vol. 7, pt. 1, pp. 169-265). Or Colbert's very words should be recalled, as quoted in M. Charles de la Roncière's fifth volume of the *Histoire de la Marine Française* (Paris, 1920, p. 327): "Je ne faisois que fournir la carrière dans laquelle le cardinal de Richelieu était entré. De tout ce que le cardinal de Richelieu avoit entrepris pour la gloire du royaume, il n'y avoit rien de plus important que la navigation et le commerce."

With all its shortcomings and its provincial outlook, the abbé Groulx's book is worth reading, and should be welcome on our library shelves.

HECTOR GARNEAU

When Canada was New France. By GEORGE H. LOCKE. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1919. Pp. 155.

A nation's spirit is deeply affected by the knowledge of its history. When we get the children interested in the past of their country, we are planting deep the roots of patriotism. It is from this cause that the love of country tends to be deeper in the old world than it is in the new, for in the old world long traditions create ties that are binding. No one travels farther afield than the Englishman, but he turns with delight to what he calls the old land. In his heart he feels a certain contempt for what is new and is apt to contrast rather scornfully the perhaps highly prosperous village of Canada with his home village in England, stricken with poverty it may be, but with a gray church tower which has stood there since the days of the Plantagenets, and with tombs in the churchyard where lie the bones of his forbears. The past is at any rate, part master of the present, and to know it is to have a stronger grip on to-day. A nation's history is the parent of its patriotism.

This thought is suggested by Dr. Locke's little book, *When Canada was New France*, which is an expression of a movement full of promise. In the thirteen chapters we have recalled the most dramatic figures and episodes in the history of French Canada; Cartier and Champlain, La Salle, Montcalm, the Indian chief Pontiac, and others pass before us. The book is light and popular, but it has real significance, for these stories were told by word of mouth to groups of young people gathered round the story-teller in the Toronto Public Library. After all, Canada has a dramatic history. The young have been repelled from it by the dry constitutional features of too many of the school histories. No doubt the constitutional aspect is the most important aspect of the history of

Canada, but there is in it no romance, and Dr. Locke's book is a call to study human nature in history and to find in it poetry and romance as well as politics.

Les Origines de Montréal. (Mémoires de la Société Historique de Montréal: onzième livraison.) Montréal: Adj. Menard. 1917. Pp. 364; cartes.

FOR many years the Société Historique de Montréal has been moribund. The two hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of Montreal, which occurred in 1917, has, however, brought about a revival of the society; and this revival has been signalized by the resumption, after a period of seventeen years, of the publication of the society's *Mémoires*.

The present volume, which is the eleventh in the list of the society's publications, sustains the high standard set by the volumes which have preceded it. It is devoted to the reproduction of the *livre-terrier* of the seigniory of Montreal, a document preserved in the archives of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice. The original register, which was begun by the Gentlemen of Saint Sulpice in 1666, has disappeared; but a new register was begun about the year 1700, in which the entries in the original *terrier* were copied, and which carried the entries down to 1795. It is this second *terrier* which is here reproduced. It contains a complete record of all concessions and transfers of land within the limits of the old fortifications of Montreal from the middle of the seventeenth century down to the end of the eighteenth, and it this constitutes a most important document not only for the early history of Montreal, but also for the early history of Canada, in which Montreal played for so long a pivotal part.

The transcription of the document, which occupies 236 good-sized pages, and which has been reprinted *literatim et verbatim*, has been done by Mr. O.-M.-H. Lapalice, the archivist of the fabrique of Notre Dame, who has also prepared a most elaborate index of proper names, in order to facilitate the work of investigators. At the end of the volume, there is included a series of ten charts, based on the plan made by Louis Guy in 1792 to illustrate the *terrier*, as well as a very interesting map of Montreal in 1761.

Seldom has a local historical society displayed greater discrimination, or a profounder sense of historical values, than the Société Historique de Montréal in publishing this valuable *Mémoire*. It is to be hoped that the society will continue the good work now, for the second time, so happily begun.

W. S. WALLACE

Les Forges Saint-Maurice. Par BENJAMIN SULTE. (Mélanges Historiques, vol. 6.) Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1920.

ONE can always be certain that, in picking up one of Dr. Sulte's historical studies, one is going to get considerably more than the title of the work would indicate. One finds not only all that the author has gathered on the subject in hand, through a long life of research and note-taking, but a great deal of additional information concerning subjects and persons only very indirectly connected with the main thread of the narrative. This is particularly the case in all matters relating to Three Rivers and its neighbourhood. It is his own, his native land, and he has related the history of it in many forms.

The celebrated forges of Saint-Maurice constituted, for over a century, the most unique, if not the most important industry of the district of Three Rivers. The distribution of their products, especially under the management of Munro and Bell, caused the name of Three Rivers to become a household word throughout the length and breadth of the Canadas. The story of the iron mines and the forges themselves is very fully presented in this volume, although not much detail is given as to the extent to which the products of the industry were distributed throughout the country. The early settlements of the Loyalists and their immediate successors in Upper Canada, were very extensively supplied with stoves, kettles, and iron bars from the Saint-Maurice forges. The metal was so pure and the articles were so well made that, until quite recently at least, in the older sections of Ontario, such as the Bay of Quinté district, a considerable number of these articles were still in use, after nearly a century of service.

But if we have not many references to the distribution of the products of the forges, we have at least a plethora of information as to the family history of the people connected with them, whether as proprietors of the lands, or as workmen and others associated with the industry from the earliest French period. Between one-third and one-half of the volume is occupied with vital statistics and genealogical details recording births, marriages, and deaths, including the names of those who officiated and assisted in connection with these more or less dramatic incidents. These details are doubtless very interesting to those fortunate enough to have sanguinary affiliations with the families of that district, but they tend somewhat to overwhelm one who is chiefly interested in tracing the history of the forges and their products. On the other hand, one is constantly entertained by the epigrammatic expressions and naive *obiter dicta* of the genial author. Withal we have here a very informing and serviceable record of an historic Canadian industry.

ADAM SHORTT

L'Hôpital Général des Soeurs de la Charité (Soeurs Grises) depuis sa Fondation jusqu'à nos Jours. Tome premier (1692-1821). Montréal. [n.d.] Pp. iii, 664.

After reading the pages of this history of the Hôpital Général de Montréal, the purely secular historian is apt to experience a feeling of disappointment. The annalist of the Grey Nuns has had at her disposal the archives of one of the oldest institutions in Canada, yet she has taken very little note of what has happened outside the four walls of the Hôpital Général itself. It would seem as though the events of the great world had found few echoes in the hearts of the pious sisters whose story is recounted here. Events such as the conquest of Canada by the British, the passage of the Quebec Act, the American Revolution and the invasion of Canada in 1775-1776, the passage of the Constitutional Act of 1791, find scarcely any mention in the narrative. It is only when the events of the outside world are brought to the doors of the Grey Nuns, as when some of the captive survivors of the Deerfield massacre are confided to their care, or when, after the British conquest, they are threatened with extinction, that the reader is reminded of the existence of secular history.

Yet the historian who would venture to ignore this simple narrative of the work of the Grey Nuns in Montreal would make a profound mistake. Before there were any state-aided hospitals, the sick and the unfortunate found a refuge in the Hôpital Général; before there were any homes for foundlings or children's aid societies, abandoned infants found a home with the Sisters of Charity; before there were any trained nurses or neighbourhood helpers, the Grey Nuns went about on their errands of mercy. From the standpoint of sociology, the story of the Grey Nuns of the Hôpital Général, as well as of their sisters of the Hôtel Dieu, is of cardinal importance. They were one of the few—the very few—ameliorating influences in the urban society of early Canada. The letter of Sir Frederick Haldimand quoted on page 427 is a signal proof of the high esteem in which the British authorities, after the conquest, held their services to the community.

Within her self-prescribed limits, the nameless author of these pages has done her work extremely well. She has handled her materials with discretion and accuracy; she writes clearly and gracefully; and her moderation is beyond all praise. It is interesting to note that the book has been printed by the sisters themselves; and there are few printing houses that would not have been proud, and justly proud, to have turned out such an excellent example of the printer's art. The volume is, unfortunately, lacking in an index; perhaps this will be furnished in the second volume.

The Canadian Dominion: A Chronicle of Our Northern Neighbour. By OSCAR D. SKELTON. (The Chronicles of America Series, vol. 49.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co. 1919. Pp. xi, 296.

IF we may draw an inference from the sub-title, this book was written primarily for readers in the United States. Its purpose is to trace the steps by which two insignificant colonies, from which France had definitely withdrawn her pretensions in 1763, expanded into the Dominion, as it appears to-day. The work is well done. The writer, who is Professor of Economics in Queen's University, sees Canadian history as a whole, and is able to put his finger on the salient points in the development of the country. There are few Canadians who would not derive benefit from a perusal of this work.

The story moves in ordered sequence through the several stages—the settlement of the destiny of the provinces as parts of the British Empire, the acquisition, after a half-century of struggle, of the right to govern themselves, their confederation, and the difficulties to be encountered before the new Dominion got fairly on its feet. As it happens, the history of the older provinces before Confederation, was, in essentials, sufficiently uniform to enable the author to embrace them all in his scheme, without undue strain.

The first section covers the period from 1760 until the War of 1812. The feature common to all the provinces was the completion of the fixing process which determined their future as members of the British Empire. There are some points in this chapter which invite comment.

The writer, in a paragraph (p. 11) dealing with the executive government, states that the governor was to be aided in his task by a council, composed of, among others, the lieutenant-governors of Montreal and Three Rivers. This is according to the governor's instructions, but possible misunderstanding might have been avoided, by a statement that no lieutenant-governors functioned in Montreal or Three Rivers after the establishment of civil government on August 10, 1764. The appointments were offered to Generals Gage and Burton, but they both declined, and the Home government abolished the offices.

The few facts illustrating the antagonism which existed between Murray and the English merchants give no idea of the general confusion that reigned in the colony during the period of Murray's rule. Murray quarreled with Burton, who had command of the army to Murray's immeasurable disgust, and threatened to put Burton in prison, if the latter took certain action which was quite in the line of his duty; the chief justice and the attorney-general were deadly enemies, and their mutual hostilities did much to paralyze the administration of justice; resentments between the military authorities and the civil population led

to the attempted murder of a magistrate, and the fiasco with which the trial of the suspected soldiers ended, set the whole colony in turmoil. There was no section of society in the colony which did not have a quarrel on its hands. Judged by results, Murray was one of the least capable of governors. His recall was determined, not so much by the complaints of the merchants, as by the course he pursued regarding the Walker outrage.

The account given of the Quebec Act and the events leading up to it lacks something in accuracy. An article by the present writer in the June number of this REVIEW (pp. 166-186), containing a study of the policy of the Quebec Act, and of the measures taken by Carleton on his instructions, makes it unnecessary to enlarge on this point. As between the views of Carleton and those of Masères, the Home government found wisdom in the latter rather than in the former, though the contumacy of Carleton frustrated the government's intentions.

In his remarks on the religious dissensions, Mr. Skelton states that the great majority of the early settlers in Upper Canada belonged to the Church of England. Certain statements in papers in the Cartwright collection make this doubtful. Simcoe, as is well known, began his activities on behalf of his new charge before he sailed for Canada aud continued them without intermission until he reached Niagara. In Kingston he wrote to the magistrates at Cataraqui, on May 31, 1790, on the subject of providing clergymen and schoolmasters for the settlers, and suggested that the people assist in the clearing of the glebe lands. Cartwright and Neil McLean replied, stating that the magistrates agreed with the principle, but that they questioned the propriety of calling upon the people, *the majority of whom were not members of the Church of England.* Three years later, Cartwright, who was himself of the Church of England, made a more emphatic statement on the subject. Writing to Isaac Todd on October 14, 1793, on the work of the second session of the legislature, he made some comments on the Marriage Act dealt with in that session, asserting that *nineteen-twentieths of the people were of persuasions different from the Church of England* Statements of this kind by a competent contemporary override deductions from supposed facts.

The chapters on "The Fight for Self-Govermnent" and "The Union Era", recounting the progress of immigration and settlement, the beginnings of a system of communication, and of banking and industry, the steps leading up to the Union of Upper Canada in 1841, the gradual establishment of Responsible Government and Confederation, and the relations with the United States regarding Reciprocity, and as affected by the Civil War, contain an admirable summary of the events of this important period.

Equal commendation is due to the last two chapters, "Days of Trial", and "Years of Fulfilment". In reading these, older persons will appeal to their memories for confirmation of, or disagreement with, the views conveyed by the book. Men of sixty can remember, perhaps faintly, the great rejoicings in Upper Canada on the first of July, 1867, when confederation was consummated, and can check, with growing assurance, the statements of the author, and the impressions produced by the facts he has selected to illustrate the period. The reviewer has no hesitation in stating that his recollections accord, on the whole, very well with the conclusions of the writer.

WILLIAM SMITH

Cours d'Histoire du Canada. Par THOMAS CHAPAIS. Tome 1: *1760-1791.* Québec: J. P. Garneau. 1919. Pp. vii, 328.

A reflection which will readily occur to the reader of recent works by French-Canadian historical writers, is that, so far as the history of Canada is concerned, the rising generation in the province of Quebec is well served. The body of writers who are fixing the standard of historical work in that province base their studies upon careful research in contemporary documentary literature. They subject the older writers to a rigid examination, not hesitating to reject views which are unsustained by satisfactory evidence. Their sympathies are controlled by the obligations of impartiality, and in their treatment of their subject, they disclose a skill in arrangement and an eloquence of expression which seems to be the secret of their race.

Mr. Chapais's work, which we take to be but the beginning of a complete history of Canada since the British occupation, is among the best produced of late years by Canadian writers. In this volume the author is happy in his theme. Though described as a course of history of Canada, the work is, in reality, a history of the French Canadians during the first period of British rule. The events of the governorships of Murray, Carleton, and Haldimand are related only so far as they affect the fortunes of that people. Any sense one may have, however, of the inadequacy of the treatment is more than offset by the added interest due to the evident sympathy of the author with his subject.

The volume is of much value to the English-speaking reader. Although the facts on which the theme is based are nearly all within the knowledge of the closer students of the period, it is important to learn how these facts appear to a competent French-Canadian student, who is well disposed to the British part of the population. It would seem, indeed, that at times his judgment is influenced by his anxiety to exalt the fathers, as when he invites us to special admiration of the seigneurs

and professional classes for the devotion to duty they displayed in not abandoning the country at the Conquest. It is permissible to ask where they would have gone. They would have been strangers in France, and there is no reason for thinking that they could have calculated upon a sympathetic reception in that country. In Canada, they had, at least, their homes, their friends and hope. It is observed throughout the book that where commendation is to be distributed between the Canadians and the English officials, the honours invariably go to the former.

The chapter on the Church, showing the supreme place it occupied, and occupies, among the factors contributing to the preservation of the French nationality, is one English students cannot afford to overlook. Here is a record, set forth with affection, of the struggle for the recognition of the Church, as distinct from its mere toleration, of the secret consecration of the first bishop with the connivance of the British government, and of the final establishment of the Church on an assured footing.

The chapters on the laws invite comment. The writer asserts that the effect of the Ordinance of 1764 was to abolish the use of the French laws and customs. This was undoubtedly the case as regards the Superior Court, or Court of King's Bench, where the judge was directed to apply the laws of England as the rules for decision. But several circumstances suggest the conclusion that the French laws and customs were followed freely in the Court of Common Pleas. The terms of the Ordinance as they affect the laws to be accepted in the Common Pleas differ markedly from those touching the Court of King's Bench. In the Common Pleas the judges were "to determine according to equity, having regard nevertheless to the laws of England, as far as the circumstances and present situation of things will permit". The judges had a latitude which was not given to the chief justice in the Court of King's Bench; and Murray saw to it that the men whom he appointed judges of the Court of Common Pleas should have no undue leanings against the French law. Three judges were commissioned in December, 1764—a surgeon, an army officer, and a merchant, the last a Frenchman. None of them at the time of their appointment had any more knowledge of the law than is usual with the man on the street. But they all used the French language freely, and, most significant of all, Mabane, the surgeon, stated in 1779, that from the time he and Fraser, the army officer, ascended the Bench they had applied themselves to the study of French law. Murray stated to the Home government that his plan was to make the Court of Common Pleas a resort for the Canadians; and that he succeeded in satisfying the latter is shown by a memorial from the French nhabitants to the King expressing their joy at the establishment of this

court. Indeed, the several memorials and petitions presented by the Canadians contain no complaints respecting this court.

Another point of difference with Mr. Chapais is the view he takes of the Quebec Act. He sees in this Act a complete triumph for the Canadians, after a persistent struggle. The instructions given by the King to the Governor to consider the question of re-introducing the English commercial law, and of establishing Habeas Corpus, Mr. Chapais considers as a partial satisfaction to the English element. Now there is nothing more certain than that the Act and instructions were parts of one policy, which was designed to satisfy the reasonable demands of all classes. The influence of the Canadians is nowhere specially apparent in these transactions, unless, one is tempted to suggest, it may have induced Carleton to disregard the King's instructions respecting the English commercial laws and Habeas Corpus.

In mentioning the measures which were adopted in consequence of the Quebec Act, the writer cites as one of the most important the ordinance of 1777, establishing courts of civil judicature. He notes the establishment of courts of common pleas at Quebec and Montreal, with semi-weekly sittings, but he does not seem to have observed that an Act was passed providing for these things in 1770, the only difference being that whereas, prior to the Quebec Act, the determination of disputed facts might, if desired, be left to a jury, that option was not given by the ordinance of 1777. Whether this omission, which took place on Carleton's positive orders, was a point of superiority in the later ordinance, is a matter on which people may possibly differ.

The account given of the investigation in 1787 into the administration of justice is scarcely adequate. It gives little idea of the utter confusion that reigned in the courts. Leading lawyers and merchants testified that, as the judges in the Courts of Common Pleas applied sometimes French law, sometimes English law, and sometimes no law at all, but merely their own notions of what natiural equity required, the lawyers were at a loss to advise their clients as to the chances of success in cases submitted to them. Cases were delayed for months and even years. In Montreal, one of the judges was so habitually intoxicated after dinner, that it became a matter of importance to know whether decisions of his were rendered in the morning or the afternoon. There was no summing up of the evidence, nor, so far as known, were there any conclusions upon it, reported from the law officers by whom it was considered.

The volume finishes with an interesting and accurate account of the movement for obtaining a house of assembly. The principal documents upon which Mr. Chapais depends in the exposition of his subject are set forth in the appendices, an advantage which will be appreciated by every careful student. WILLIAM SMITH

Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791. Selected and edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty. Second and Revised Edition by the Historical Documents Publication Board. Parts I and II. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1918. Pp. xvi, 1084.

Of all the important works issued in connection with Canadian constitutional development, perhaps the most valuable to public men and to students of research was the issue some years ago of the volumes of *Canadian Constitutional Documents*, edited by Dr. Shortt and Dr. Doughty, covering the period from 1759 to 1818—that is, from the conquest to the fishery arrangements which followed the war of 1812. This work, in two volumes, has been out of print for some time. Fortunately, the editors have now re-issued, through the Board of Historical Publications, Volume I of the *Constitutional Documents*, covering the period from 1759 to 1791. This has been issued in two parts, and comes from the same competent hands as the earlier edition. Among the new documents included are the following:

Discussion of petitions and counter-petitions *re* change of government in Canada, 1789 ..... (p. 970)
Report of the Board of Trade, September 2, 1765 ..... (p. 237)
Draft of ordinance for establishing Courts of Justice in Quebec, 1775 ..... (p. 637)
Commission for a Court of Appeal and for a Court of Civil Jurisdiction, 1776 ..... (p. 672)
Report in full of committee on Livius ..... (p. 698)
Review of Governor Haldimand's course ..... (p. 722)
Plan of general directions for Sir G. Carleton, and Draft of particular instructions to Carleton, 1786 ..... (p. 812)

These additional documents enhance the value of the work, which will be welcomed by all those who realize the importance of the earlier constitutional documents at the present stage. The new volumes are much better printed than the earlier one, and are very creditable to the editors.

The Michigan Fur Trade. By Ida Amanda Johnson. Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission. 1919. Pp. xii, 201.

Although this historical sketch of the fur-trade of Michigan appears as a publication of the Michigan Historical Commission, and even in its University series, it is quite an amateurish and, on the whole, crude production. There is one feature of it, however, which is entirely commendable, and that is the painstaking industry and extensive, though highly

specialized, reading which are evidenced in bringing together the raw materials for the book. Unfortunately, this seems to have been regarded as the only really important function connected with the work. In consequence the raw materials so laboriously assembled remain raw materials to the end. There is, as is usual in such work, a voluminous parade of references, many of which serve no essential purpose, but there is no discrimination shown as to the relative values of the sources cited as to either facts or opinions.

The treatment of such matters as "the trading policy of the various nations which successively held sway over her territory and its results", declared in the preface to be one of the chief objects of the work, is singularly crude, lacking at once in adequate information and the training and experience necessary to the forming of intelligent and adequate judgments. So far as the writer is employed in merely presenting in sequence the undigested raw materials assembled, the narrative proceeds not so badly, though even here, in arranging the facts, there is no lack of evidence that the real meaning of isolated statements may be quite misunderstood. It is, however, in the few chapters which call for intelligent generalization and an adequate estimate of the essential meaning of the facts dealt with, that the crudeness of the work is most fully displayed. Thus the closing chapter, "The Trader's Life", is not only quite inadequate as a real treatment of the subject, but abundantly indicates, in the few generalizations attempted, that the author has failed to comprehend the real significance of the subject. Imagine for instance, such a subdivision into the "distinct classes" which arose in the fully developed fur-trade as the following: "the bourgeois, the voyageur, the mangeurs-de-lard, the clerks, engagés, hivernans or winterers." As to the *coureurs-de-bois*, "mostly they were French or half breeds, who believed that the furred creatures of the forest were the monopoly of neither king nor company, but the spoils of all, and hence they defied all law to the contrary"—which may serve as a mild example at once of the foggy conceptions, crude grammatical defects, and general amateurishness which characterize the general product.

A very fair bibliography and a modest index close the work.

ADAM SHORTT

Adventurers of Oregon: A Chronicle of the Fur Trade. By CONSTANCE L. SKINNER. (The Chronicles of America, vol. 22.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co. 1920. Pp. x, 290.

IN this very attractive little volume—well printed, on paper that seems to-day of recklessly fine quality, and illustrated with engravings of Lewis and Clark, John Jacob Astor, John McLoughlin, and other appropriate

subjects—the romantic story of Oregon is told, from the early Spanish voyages up the North West coast to the end of the fur-trade. Many of the principal actors in the drama were members of the two great British-American fur-trading corporations, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, and several of the leaders of Astor's Pacific Fur Company were recruited in Montreal. The early history of the Oregon country, or the valley of the Columbia, is in fact as much British as American. The upper part of the river, from its source down to the point where Lewis and Clark struck the river, was first explored by David Thompson, and the entire river was surveyed by him from source to mouth. For many years the fur-trade of the Columbia was controlled by the British, first by the North West Company, and later by the Hudson's Bay Company. It was not, indeed, until 1846 that the Oregon country up to the forty-ninth parallel was finally conceded to the United States.

The author discusses in, on the whole, a very fair and impartial manner the various questions involved in the early exploration and settlement of the valley of the Columbia. It is perhaps natural that much more attention should be given to the memorable journey of Lewis and Clark than to the more prosaic but equally important work of Thompson, but in the later period ample justice is done to McLoughlin, and the once popular charge that the murder of the Whitmans and their fellow missionaries by the Indians had been instigated by the Hudson's Bay Company is dismissed as merely the fruit of insane prejudice.

One may perhaps offer the criticism that in carrying her sketch of the fur-trade back to the very beginnings of French rule in Canada, the author was perhaps building up an unnecessarily elaborate background for the story of the fur-trade in Oregon. It is a far cry from Champlain, Radisson, and La Vérendrye to the fur-traders of Astoria; and one cannot even see that the origin of the Hudson's Bay Company and Iberville's successful raids on the forts on the Bay have much bearing on the story of Oregon. In going so far afield, the author has incidentally been led into one or two minor errors, such as the statement that Alexander Henry was the first British trader to push beyond Michilimackinac into the Lake Superior country; and the references to the Beaver Club on Beaver Hill in Montreal. Thomas Currie and James Finlay, and probably other fur-traders from Montreal, preceded Henry in the Lake Superior country, and even as far west as the Saskatchewan. It is also clear from contemporary diaries that the Beaver Club had no settled habitation, but that it met in one or other of the popular Montreal taverns.

L. J. BURPEE

The Fight for a Free Sea: A Chronicle of the War of 1812. By RALPH D. PAINE. (Chronicles of America, vol. 17.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co. 1920. Pp. xi, 235.

MR. PAINE, a practised hand in all that connects his country with the sea, has now given us the best American short history of the War of 1812. The series to which his vivid little book belongs is doing for the United States in fifty volumes what the *Chronicles of Canada* did for its own public in thirty-two; and Canadians will note with interest that the principal publisher of both series is one and the same Canadian, Mr. Robert Glasgow, of Toronto and New York. He and all connected with him may well be congratulated on their own share in these two series of popular histories, which, though written for the general reader, are yet, for the most part, written only by authors who, like Mr. Paine, have a special gift for setting forth special knowledge to the best advantage. With the possible exception of the blue shield on the title-page, the present "Abraham Lincoln *Edition de luxe*" is all that can be desired in paper, print, binding, and illustrations. The one sketch map, like everything that comes from Mr. Joerg, is excellent; so excellent, indeed, that we should like to see another giving more detail along the frontier. The index seems perfect, so far as names and places go; and the text could hardly be bettered, that is, if we accept its self-imposed limitations as being themselves correct.

Mr. Paine's account of the naval side is admirably stirring, attractive, and clear, more especially with regard to the single-ship actions. Though naturally viewing the war from the American side he does his best to be impartial in the finest spirit of that "brotherhood of the sea" which he so happily invokes as distinguishing the combatants of 1812 from the German submarine methods of only the other day. Though far less detailed in his descriptions of the campaigns on land he tries to be equally fair and gives good rough sketches of the often confused operations of that rather confusing war. He is also quite outspoken about the absurd mistakes made from first to last by the American government, which never seemed to know where civil control ended and civilian interference began. He has the good sense to quote Washington, very much to the point; and he thoroughly appreciates the difference between armies and armed mobs. He does not shrink from referring to modern instances as well as to wise saws; though (for fear of talking politics) he rightly shrinks from criticizing an arch-advocate of armed mobs in the pithiest way of all: "In God we trust—with Bryan we bust"; and though (for fear of offending an ally) he refrains from taking, as his best modern instance of civilian interference with the forces in the field, that most disastrous blunder of those eight scared French politicians whose gross perversions of what they

saw at the front in April '17 frightened their government into ruining the great combined offensive on the Aisne.

It seems ungracious to criticize an author whose intentions and achievements are so good within their limitations. But Mr. Paine will doubtless understand that our criticism is directed rather against the limitations than against himself. In the first place, he takes no panoramic view of the war as a strategic and amphibious whole. He gives no general summary of the opposing forces, their respective degrees of training, and the national resources on which they could depend. His explanation of the causes which provoked the war is perhaps a little too suave. Resentment and rivalry counted for more than he says. If the Americans fought mainly for "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights", how was it that New England and New York, the very parts most interested in Mr. Paine's "Free Sea", were opposed to the war all through? But it is only fair to Mr. Paine to point out that he correctly describes the Peace Party, and that he also gives the true explanation of why the American government chose the British instead of the French as their enemies, though the French were equally hostile to the sort of "Free Sea" for which the United States were ready to fight. British sea-power was stronger than French, and therefore more resented as a dangerous rival. That's all. The war, in fact, was rather one of opposing and irreconcilable rights than of nicely balanced rights and wrongs. No mention is made (p. 44) of Procter's numbers at the Thames. Mr. Paine forgets to mention (p. 113) the better material of war on the American side at sea—a fact very much to the credit of the American Navy and the discredit of the British. He mistakes (p. 85) de Salaberry's French-Canadian regulars for "militia"; he omits (p. 192) the gallant stand made by the American regulars at Bladensburg; and his index-maker omits all reference to militiamen and regulars as such. Mr. Paine does not succeed in transmitting to the civilian reader his own knowledge of what "brigadiers" are in comparison with the commander of a so-called "division" (p. 74); and the "squadron commander" (p. 94) who sailed with Commodore Rogers is equally confusing. The reference to the war-hardened British would be more accurate if war-strained or war-weary was used. Twenty years of warfare had skimmed the cream of the available British manhood. The Americans on the other hand, were as fresh in 1812 as they were in 1917, and for the same reason. Mr. Paine forgets (p. 209) that methods of warfare differ according to time and place and people, and that decisive results are obtained accordingly. "The sparse line of American rifles" at New Orleans will not appear to be so "sparse" as Mr. Paine says (p. 216) if he will stop to think how many men Jackson had along the narrow front between the Mississippi and the cypress swamp. Finally, he need not

have dealt so very leniently with Sir George Prevost about the battle of Plattsburg. Mr. Paine has not, of course, seen the whole of the original evidence marshalled together as it is in the *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812*, which the Champlain Society will presently publish in three large volumes. But, though this final and absolutely overwhelming proof may be required to damn Prevost beyond all shadow of even a single doubting question, still the existing British and American proof is quite enough; and one of Mr. Paine's own authorities, Mahan's "*1812*", gives the condemning reason why in an unmistakable form. Prevost's veteran British army was irresistible when compared with the Americans who so gallantly faced him on land. His advantage in numbers was two to one, in discipline and training ten to one, compared with Macomb's army; and if Macomb's defences evened the odds in mere numbers, yet every soldier knew then, and knows now, that Plattsburg was at Prevost's mercy, and that, once Plattsburg was in British hands, Macdonough's American flotilla, being absolutely at the mercy of the Plattsburg long-gun batteries, would have been obliged to leave the bay for the open lake, where it would have been at the mercy of Downie's British flotilla. Macdonough was mainly armed with carronades, Downie with long guns. The difference was almost the same as that between shotguns and rifles. Inside the bay, at inevitably close quarters, Macdonough's carronades were bound to win an American victory. On the open lake outside Downie's flagship, the *Confiance*, might alone have won a British victory by using her guns at a range beyond the reach of carronades. These facts were perfectly well known to both sides, by land and water, at the time; so when Prevost, instead of first taking Plattsburg and then driving out Macdonough, first goaded Downie into attacking Macdonough inside the bay, and then stirred neither hand nor foot to help him, he not only made certain of a British defeat on the water but of a British disaster that ruined the whole campaign.

WILLIAM WOOD

A Contemporary Account of the Rebellion in Upper Canada, 1837, by the late George Coventry, Esq. With notes by the Hon. WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL. (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol xvii, pp. 113-174.)

FRESH material on vital points in Canadian history is always useful; and the Ontario Historical Society and Mr. Justice Riddell deserve our thanks for printing George Coventry's narrative of the events of 1837. But it must be acknowledged that the document adds little to our better understanding of the rebellion, and that its worth as vivid and reliable evidence cannot be rated highly. Coventry's version of Mackenzie's preliminary

adventures is simply that of an intelligent but hot-tempered loyalist who at first did not happen to be on the spot, and whose evidence, except as to the reception of the news at Chippawa was therefore hearsay. Even as second-hand evidence it is seriously damaged by the virulence of the writer's hatred of Mackenzie and all his works.

The later portion of the narrative carries greater authority, for Coventry was in the vicinity of Chippawa during the occupation of Navy Island by the rebels, and apparently—although he misdates the event—when the *Caroline* was burned. But he was a bad eyewitness. It is interesting to know how he felt as he maintained his wintry patrol along the river-bank at nights; and how the Canadian militia took a sporting interest in the arrival of rebel cannon balls from Navy Island. "Go to it, ye devils, and take better aim," was an ejaculation quite worthy of those descendants of the loyal volunteers who greeted similar loose shots from the Boche with similar scorn. Nevertheless there is little vividness or discriminating use of detail in his account—nothing, for example, that can compare in energy and reality with the narrative of Richard Arnold printed by Dent in his *Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion*. Like others of his contemporaries who did not take the trouble to know the truth, his account of the *Caroline's* fate is most misleading. "It was a very grand sight," he tells us, "to see her gliding with the current towards the whirlpool of her destination, whither she in due course approached, and no vestige of her remains were ever seen afterward." But Arnold, who assisted in the exploit, says that the lights soon went out, that she sank before the falls were reached, and that the engine "was distinctly visible at the bottom of the river many years afterwards". The truth is that few men are capable of seeing things as they really happen, and still fewer capable of telling simply and directly what they have seen.

One does not wish to be counted captious or ungrateful, but a word of criticism must be passed on the notes. Many of these seem unnecessary, and some are incorrect. Even if it had been necessary to enlarge on the Clergy Reserves, support should not have been given to the old fallacy that one-seventh of the land granted was set apart for these reserves. The Constitutional Act of 1791 set apart as Clergy Reserves land equal in value to the seventh part of that which was being granted for other purposes. The Clergy Reserve share was thus one-eighth, not one-seventh, of the whole. It is equally unnecessary, in a note on Robert Owen, the Socialist, to say, what is obviously incorrect, that "his son, Robert Dale Owen, is better known than Owen himself". In the publication of such historical material the annotator will always err safely by erring on the side of brevity. The reader will nevertheless thank the

editor for many brief and useful personal notes on names not generally familiar.

In view of the statement that "spellings of proper names, often various in the original, have been made uniform", it is unsatisfactory to find "Van Rensselaer" given as "Van Ranselaer" and "Shepherd McCormack" in place of "Sheppard McCormick", as adopted in the Act which granted that officer his pension. Misspellings of names in a manuscript are best left uncorrected unless the editor has some very safe and clear principle of correction to guide him.

J. L. MORISON

John Galt. By R. K. GORDON. (University of Toronto Studies: Philological Series, No. 5.) The University Library; published by the Librarian. 1920. Pp. 121.

PROFESSOR GORDON'S biographical study of John Galt, the Scottish novelist, has primarily a literary interest. But it contains several chapters dealing with Galt's connection with Canada and the Canada Company; and these entitle it to notice as a contribution of some value to Canadian history.

John Galt was first the London agent of the Canadian claimants for compensation for losses suffered during the War of 1812, and afterwards he became the originator and organizer of the Canada Company's scheme of land settlement in the Huron Tract. He was the founder of the towns of Guelph and Goderich, and the town of Galt was named after him. In the history of Canadian colonization he occupies a place of no mean importance.

Professor Gordon has told the story of Galt's connection with Canada in considerable detail. He has made full use of the documents existing in the Canadian archives, as well as of wide variety of other sources. The research displayed in his pages is indeed worthy of the highest praise. His account of Galt's relations with Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Rev. John Strachan, and other members of the dominant Family Compact party, as well as with William Lyon Mackenzie, throws new light on the political conditions in Upper Canada in the pre-rebellion period; and the story of Galt's work as superintendent of the Canada Company from 1826 to 1829 adds a hitherto unwritten page to the history of Canadian colonization. Frequent quotations from Galt's journals and papers add to our knowledge of Upper Canada during his sojourn in the province. Some of Professor Gordon's quotations are decidedly piquant, as when he quotes Galt's description of Toronto, then "Muddy York", as "one of the vilest blue-devil haunts on the face of the earth" (p. 61). The author's dry sense of humour, indeed, frequently lightens what might

otherwise be a sufficiently dull narrative. A bibliography of Galt's writings, which is printed as an appendix, contains a number of items relating to Canada—mainly magazine articles—which are little known.

Professor Gordon's monograph is a good example of the type of special study of which there is still great need in Canadian history. It is thorough and scholarly, and it does something which has not been done before.

The Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt. By OSCAR DOUGLAS SKELTON. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. 586.

THERE has been rather a dearth of Canadian biography, political or otherwise, among the new books published in recent years, and most of those that have appeared have not excited one's enthusiasm. It is therefore a peculiar pleasure to welcome the life of one of the few really outstanding men in Canadian political history, written by an author so thoroughly well qualified to handle his subject with scholarly insight and breadth of view as Dr. Skelton. When one comes to think of it, it is astonishing that no one has before attempted to write the biography of a man whose life was so intimately interwoven with the fabric of Canadian history, and, to touch on but one phase side of his many-sided career, who was so largely responsible for the winning of Confederation and the working out of the principles of the constitution. This ill wind of neglect is tempered by the fact that the task has finally been accomplished in a manner that leaves little to be desired on the score of either completeness or accuracy, or, it may be added, readability—not always a striking characteristic of political biographies.

In dealing with a life that was so long, so many-sided, and so packed with notable achievement, the author has necessarily covered a wide field of Canadian history, both before and after Confederation. His book is, in fact, almost as much a political history of Canada during the most vital half-century of its constitutional development, as a life of Alexander Tilloch Galt. Indeed, it has been one of the author's problems to steer a middle course between the Scylla of insufficient treatment of the essential political background and the Charybdis of a life lost in the mazes of history. It has been equally necessary, in order to give the reader a complete picture of the life of Alexander Galt, to sketch briefly the work in Canada of his father, John Galt and also to some extent that of his son, Elliott Torrance Galt, for it is not the least interesting and significant fact in the lives of these three generations of Galts that the torch of public service fell from the dying hands of John Galt into those of his son, and fifty years later was carried on in renewed effort by his grandson. John Galt's broad and farsighted schemes of colonization,

as illustrated in the work of the Canada Company in Upper Canada, were adapted to a new and somewhat different environment in Alexander Galt's work in the Eastern Townships, and were once more modified to meet the everchanging conditions of time and place by Elliott Galt in what is to-day southern Alberta. Canada owes much to Alexander Galt, but in the all-important matter of intelligent and self-sustaining colonization her debt of gratitude covers three generations.

Of the personality of Alexander Galt, and his influence upon his contemporaries, one gets a clear picture in these pages. That he was a man of high principle hardly needs statement. This mueh, at least, must be known to even the casual student of Canadian history. Throughout a period when the standard of political morality in Canada was nothing to be proud of, no charge of corruption or of the improper use of his public position for personal or party ends was ever brought successfully against Alexander Galt. Further, there is abundant evidence that he never at any time allowed personal ambition to cloud his conception of what was right, or to stand in the way of what he conceived to be the best interests of his country. He was never at any time a rigid party man. Refusing to be bound by any theory of mere party allegiance, where a question of principle or public welfare was involved, he as consistently refused to be influenced by any silly charge of inconsistency when convinced that the views he had once held were no longer valid. In other words, he had the moral courage both to refuse to support his party when he believed their course to be wrong, and to admit when necessary that he himself had made a mistake. He was always open to new light on any public question, and respected every man's rule of conduct if it was honest. He was an original thinker, preferring to blaze a new trail rather than to tinker with one that no longer served its purpose. As a statesman, he conceived his duty to be to lead rather than to be led by public opinion. He was generally liked and respected by all but the extreme partisans on both sides of politics. The latter quite naturally distrusted him, whether nominally his friends or his foes. He had not that elusive quality of personal magnetism that belonged to John A. Macdonald and Laurier, and he lacked other qualities necessary to a successful political leader in a democracy. It is perhaps safe to predict, therefore, that had he become prime minister—and at least on one occasion he was invited to form a government—he could hardly have steered the ship of state through the tortuous channels of Canadian politics, particularly as they were in his day.

The most interesting and valuable part of this book is to be found in the chapters that deal with Confederation, and the part taken by Galt both in the negotiations for a union of all the provinces and in the drafting

of a constitution finally approved as the British North America Act Dr. Skelton makes it abundantly clear that Galt had much more to do with both than most of us had hitherto imagined. He did not of course originate the idea of a confederation of the scattered colonies of British North America. That had been repeatedly advocated before his time. But his was the statesmanship that grasped the psychological moment, when in 1858 the sorely-tried union of Upper and Lower Canada had finally proved unworkable, to bring forward the remedy of a wider union. It was also largely due to his enthusiasm and determination that other political leaders were won to the support of the measure. And when, six years later, the Quebec Conference took up the problem of drafting a constitution, Galt's appreciation of the essential factors was repeatedly vindicated. The extent to which his ideas were adopted by the Conference is, indeed, strikingly illustrated by Dr. Skelton in a comparison of Galt's draft of 1858 with the Quebec resolutions of 1864.

There are one or two points that may be noticed in this portion of the book. In commenting upon Galt's making the adoption of his federation policy a consideration of his accepting office, Dr. Skelton says: "It is doubtful if Cartier and Macdonald would have agreed had not the proposal seemed to open up a way to rid the minority of the embarrassing question of the choice of the capital." This seems too grave a charge to make without substantial proof, and the only proof submitted is Cartier's announcement of the ministerial programme in which the two questions are apparently bound together. The word *and* in the quotation is no doubt italicized by Dr. Skelton for the sake of emphasizing his point, and therefore has no particular significance, but a comparison of the text as given by Dr. Skelton with the same passage in Mr. Boyd's *Cartier* shows—if the latter is correct—that Cartier dealt not with two points, the seat of government and federation, but with four points, the tariff, the seat of government, federation, and the public service, and there is nothing whatever to indicate that Cartier bound the second and third questions together any more than the first and second or the third and fourth.

In connection with the negotiations in London in 1858, Dr. Skelton quotes a confidential letter addressed to Lytton and signed by Cartier, Ross and Galt, and makes the comment that, although in the name of the whole committee, the letter was Galt's own composition, as his draft showed. Without seeming hypercritical, one may perhaps suggest that the fact that the draft was in Galt's handwriting, if that is the basis of Dr. Skelton's comment, hardly precludes the idea that the letter was the result of conferences among the three delegates, as one would naturally expect such an important communication to be.

These, however, are not very serious points of criticism, and it is possible that in both cases the documents may fully justify Dr. Skelton's statements. One can in any case unreservedly commend the thoroughness and skill with which he has marshalled his facts, and as unreservedly recommend his book as a notable addition to Canadian biography and Canadian political history.

L. J. BURPEE

Laurier et son Temps. Par Alfred D. DeCelles. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1920. Pp. ix, 228.

THERE are few writers who would have been better qualified to write a full-length biography of Sir Wilfrid Laurier than Dr. DeCelles. In the little book under review, however, Dr. DeCelles has limited himself to a more modest programme. Nearly half the book is given up to the reproduction of funeral orations, parliamentary speeches, and newspaper articles in connection with Sir Wilfrid's death; and the biographical part of the book is little more than a sketch, based for the most part on facts which are well known. Dr. DeCelles would appear to have had at his disposal none of the exceptional sources of information to which Professor Skelton has had access in preparing the official biography of Laurier which has been appearing in serial form in the *Century Magazine*.

None the less, this little book, within its modest limits, has distinct value. The author's long acquaintance with his subject, his sound historical outlook, and his charming style combine to guarantee to those who wish to obtain a biographical sketch of Sir Wilfrid Laurier within short compass an account such as they will perhaps be able to find nowhere else; and in some respects the book will no doubt have for future generations the value of a contemporary document, and a document singularly free from prejudice and party spirit. Dr. DeCelles is, of course, a devoted admirer of his old chieftain; but nothing could be more admirable than the way in which he avoids touching on vexed controversial questions. As he explains in his preface, he passes judgment on only two points in the whole of Sir Wilfrid's policy: he approves of his having broken with the *rouges* of 1848 and 1854, and of his having tried to bring about an *entente cordiale* between Ontario and Quebec.

Perhaps Dr. DeCelles will forgive us for wishing that, while preserving the merits of his present essay, he had embarked on a more detailed and more ambitious work.

The Canadians in France, 1915-1918. By Capt. HARWOOD STEELE, M.C. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1920. Pp. 364.

Now that the war is over the energetic advertising service of the Canadian

Record Office in London has been demobilized. It left Canadians at home apparently under the strong impression that the Canadian Corps was more largely responsible for most of the victories won by the British forces on the western front than was perhaps the case. In such circumstances the need for a brief clear account of what the Corps actually accomplished in France has long been obvious. The "Canada in Flanders" series covers only 1915 and 1916, and had to be written with an eye on the war-time public and on war-time politics. The 1917 engagements have not been dealt with at all as yet; and "the Hundred Days" of 1918 (if we except Mr. Livesay's eccellent book) seem to drive all writers into such lyrical exstasies as to incapacitate them altogether from dealing with hum-drum matters like the tactics of August 8 or September 27. What is wanted is a short work based on the official war-diaries and reports, and written in the admirable business-like style of those reports themselves.

Capt. Steele has the credit of being the first to attempt to supply the need and to give a detailed history of the fighting of the Corps in France. His book deals solely "with the operations of the Corps in the presence of the enemy", omitting everything which does not bear directly on this theme; and it gives a precise and, on the whole, accurate account of all the battles in which the Canadians were engaged from Second Ypres to Mons. This is a great merit. But it cannot be said that the author has succeeded in making himself very clear or interesting.

For one thing, the book is systematically overloaded with detail. The long lists for every battle of all the infantry and artillery units engaged, with their commanding officers, tends to become a mere compilation; and even Homer's catalogue of the ships is said to be dull. Nor are trench raids, the most exciting of adventures, made to seem exciting when they are chronicled one after the other in monotonous succession. And, however notable the exploits of particular individuals may have been, the conscientious commemoration of every V.C. action only obscures the account of the general course of an engagement. This mass of detail is not sufficiently balanced in Capt. Steele's narrative by what is needed to give it its proper setting, an exposition of the part played by the Canadian Corps, in any given engagement, in the general scheme of the Higher Command. The result is that one emerges from a battle with the baffled feeling that one has not been able to see the wood for the trees.

Perhaps these complaints would be modified if the narrative were illustrated by maps. But the book has only eight sketches in all, and these deal solely with the events of 1918. No form of warfare needs maps to make it intelligible so much as the trench-fighting of the Great

War; and, the more careful Capt. Steele is to define units and objectives, the more obscure his mapless narrative becomes.

The style of the writing also leaves much to be desired. The author seems to have thought himself bound to soar into rhetorical prose at regular intervals, and his extravagant adjectives and purple patches at times become merely absurd. What is the use of referring to the admirable engineering skill with which the Germans sited their trench lines as "devilish cunning" (p. 273)? What does the author expect us to understand by the very mixed metaphor of "a tornado of bullets that withered the clamouring waves of their opponents" (p. 16)? Or what appropriateness is there in describing the relief of the 2nd Division after their brilliant victory at Courcelette as passing out of the Valley of the Shadow (p. 75), or in remarking, after detailing the dispositions of a very un-lamblike Corps before St. Eloi, that "Canada's offering lay on the Altar of Sacrifice" (p. 42)?

The problem of writing a precise detailed account of three and a half year's fighting in a style that shall, at the same time, stir the reader's imagination to some understanding of the quality of the heroic events described, has hardly been solved by Capt. Steele. Perhaps it is impossible to combine precision and eloquence on such a theme in the limited space of 340 pages. But it is worth something to have been precise.

F. H. UNDERHILL

Canada in the Great World War: An authentic account of the Military History of Canada from the earliest days to the close of the War of the Nations. By various authorities. Toronto: United Publishers of Canada, Vol. IV: *The Turn of the Tide*. [1920.] Pp. vii, 405.

IT is with the fighting of the Canadian Corps in 1917 towards and around Lens that the present volume of this series on Canada in the Great War chiefly deals. But the volume includes also the share of the Canadians in the great battles of the Somme and Passchendaele, the whole period being described as "the Turn of the Tide".

This period was characterized by an almost uniform method of attack: the attempted obliteration by concentrated artillery fire of all enemy defences—wire, trenches, dug-outs, and redoubts—prior to the assault by the infantry. This was at first thought to be the solution of the tactical problem of the attack on trench defences; but it was soon found that even a completely successful assault, Vimy for instance, only created a situation of greater difficulty. The state of the ground churned up by the shells poured upon it, combined with the torrents of rain which usually accompanied operations, formed an obstacle to the rapid advance of artillery and transport. The delay necessary to enable the engineers to

bridge this gap afforded the enemy time to close the breach made in his line and invariably robbed the Allies of the fruits of their victories. The tank, which ultimately proved the solution of the problem, was not effectively used until General Byng's surprise attack at Cambrai.

The fighting during this period, owing possibly to the uniform method of attack, is not easy of description. Repetition is always apt to weary readers. Those responsible for the various chapters have done their best to compress the tale of so much fighting and so much heroism, endurance, and skill into the space allotted them. But to enable the student of military history to follow the various operations intelligently would necessitate a wealth of detail possibly too minute for a book of this character, and above all more maps and diagrams, without which the text is incomplete. To take only one instance, the episode related on pages 31 and 32 namely the brilliant exploit of Captain Heron in seizing Gun Pit Trench on September 15, 1916. The early capture of this trench was the condition which made possible, and probably suggested, the attack and capture of Courcelette by the 5th Infantry Brigade on the same day. To understand the text a sketch of the ground showing the locations of Gun Pit Trench and the Sugar Refinery in relation to the village of Courcelette is essential, but neither of them is to be found on the maps in this volume.

Some chapters are of peculiar interest, dealing, as they do, mainly with the authors' personal experiences and impressions—notably the accounts by Messrs H. W. Macdonell and T. W. Morse of their lives as prisoners of war in Germany. The Canadian Cavalry Brigade is allotted one chapter; and no infantry who have seen cavalry manoeuvering under machine-gun fire will begrudge them the meed of praise for the work they did when opportunity offered. Other chapters deal with the work of the Motor Machine Gun Corps, the Canadian share in the war at sea, and civil re-establishment in Canada.

Several years must elapse before the immense mass of material available can be sifted, statistics prepared, and a comprehensive military history written and published. In the meantime, this and no doubt, many similar works will be available for those readers—and they are legion—who do not want to "forget all about the war", but wish to have in print the story of Canada's great epic.

HAROLD W. A. FOSTER

The Status of the Dominions and their Relations with Foreign Countries. Issued by the Imperial Tariff Commission. London: P. S. King and Sons. 1920. Pp. 22.

THE Imperial Tariff Commission has issued a memorandum entitled

The Status of the Dominions and their Relations with Foreign Countries. The first part of the memorandum summarizes the departure in Imperial practice involved in the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary by the King on the advice of his Canadian ministers. The fact that the King is to be advised by persons other than the members of the British government, and the fact that the Washington representative is to have ambassadorial powers, are points to which attention is called. The purpose of the memorandum is to outline the situation which has led up to this development in form and in practice, and we therefore have the history of the events leading up to this step, beginning with the application made in behalf of Sir A. T. Galt in 1879 and refused on that occasion by the Colonial Secretary. The memorandum also includes Canada's interpretation of the change as outlined by Mr. Lloyd George in the British House of Commons and by Mr. Rowell at Ottawa. The second part of the memorandum outlines Canada's commercial relations with France, with Germany, with the United States, and with other countries. It includes also Newfoundland's commercial relations with the United States, and Australia's with the same country. While the statement on each point is brief, it is sufficient for a clear understanding of the existing situation. There is included a short analysis of the proposed Reciprocity Agreement of 1911 between Canada and the United States, and the significance and importance of that episode is shown in view of present discussions and tendencies.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended review subsequently.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

LAUT, AGNES C. *Canada is Pivot of Empire* (Maclean's Magazine, vol. xxxiii, no. 9, pp. 19, 63-64).

A journalistic estimate of the position Canada is destined to occupy in the British Empire.

TARIFF COMMISSION. *The Status of the Dominions and their Relations with Foreign Countries.* London: P. S. King & Sons. 1920. Pp. 32.

Reviewed on page 332.

TURNOR, CHRISTOPHER. *The Organisation of Migration and Settlement within the Empire* (United Empire, May, 1920, pp. 247-254).

Abstract of a paper read at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, Westminster, on April 13, 1920, advocating "a Central Emigration Authority" for the British Empire.

WORSFOLD, W. BASIL. *The Administration of the Empire* (United Empire, July, 1920, pp. 357-363).

A reply to Captain Richard Jebb's paper entitled *Conference or Cabinet?* printed in *United Empire* in April and May, 1920. Mr. Worsfold believes that "a common executive authority is an administrative necessity for the Empire".

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

CHARTIER, Chanoine ÉMILE. *Le Canada d'hier et d'aujourd'hui (1840-1914)* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxv, no. 6-7, pp. 401-426).

The second of a series of lectures on Canada, given by the author at the Catholic Institute of Paris.

DOUGHTY, A. G. *Report of the Public Archives for the year 1918.* Printed by order of Parliament. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1920. Pp. 15; xvii, 208; ii, 71, 87.

Reviewed on page 302.

HASSARD, ALBERT R. *Great Canadian Orators* (Canadian Magazine, July, 1920, pp. 247-250; August, 1920, pp. 297-300).

Continuation of a series of articles, of which these, the last, deal with Sir Charles Tupper and Bishop Baldwin.

SHORTT, ADAM. *The Significance for Canadian History of the Work of the Board of Historical Publications* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiii, sect. ii, pp. 103-109).

An outline of the very comprehensive programme which the Board of Historical Publications, established recently by the Dominion government, has placed before itself.

SHORTT, ADAM, and DOUGHTY, ARTHUR G. (eds.). *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791.* Second and revised edition by the Historical

Documents Publication Board. Two parts. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1918. Pp. xvi, 1084.

Reviewed on page 317.

TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY. *Books and Pamphlets Published in Canada, up to the year Eighteen Hundred and Thirty-Seven, copies of which are in the Public Reference Library, Toronto, Canada.* Supplement No. I, December, 1919. Toronto: Public Library. 1919. Pp. 8.

An addendum to the catalogue of early Canadian publications issued by the Toronto Public Library in 1916, and noticed in the *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, vol. xxii, p. 188.

(2) The History of New France

ALVORD, CLARENCE WALWORTH. *An Unrecognized Father Marquette Letter* (American Historical Review, July, 1920, pp. 676-680).

A Latin letter apparently written by Marquette on the Mississippi in August, 1673, a copy of which has come to light among the Duke of Portland's manuscripts at Welbeck Abbey in England.

ATHERTON, WILLIAM HENRY. *A Canadian Educationist of the 17th Century.* (Reprinted from the Montreal Gazette, April 17, 1920.) Pp. 16.

A small pamphlet containing an appreciation of the work of Marguerite Bourgeois, the founder of the Congregation of Notre Dame in Montreal, on the occasion of her tercentennial anniversary.

GÉRIN-LAJOIE, MARIE-J. *Marguerite Bourgeois, la femme des oeuvres* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, juin, 1920, pp. 200-207).

An address given before the former pupils of the Congregation de Notre Dame in Montreal describing the life-work of the founder of the Congregation.

GROULX, l'abbé LIONEL. *La naissance d'une race.* Conferences prononcées à l'Université Laval, Montréal, 1918-1919. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française. 1919. Pp. 294, et app.

Reviewed on page 307.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Claude de Beaulieu, Capitaine général des gardes des fermes du roi en Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 4, pp. 127-128).

Two documents, dated 1699, giving instructions to this official as to his duties.

—— —— *La Plantation du Mai dans le bon vieux temps* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 5, pp. 154-156).

A note on an incident of French-Canadian seigniorialism.

—— —— *L'Engagement d'un Chirurgien pour l'Ouest au dix-huitième siècle* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 5, pp. 157-159).

Transcript of a document dated June, 1753, embodying a contract with a physician to serve in the upper country.

—— —— *Le prétendu testament de l'abbé Jorian* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 4, pp. 118-120).

A document bearing on the question of the removability of curés in New France.

ROY, P.-G. *La Famille Rouer de Villeray* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 5, pp. 129-145; no. 6, pp. 161-176).

A genealogical study of the descendants of Louis Rouer de Villeray.

—— —— *Louis Rouer de Villeray, Premier conseiller au Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiii, sect. i, pp. 13-45).

A paper almost identical with one in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, entitled *La famille Rouer de Villeray*, and noted in the last number of the REVIEW on page 131.

—— —— *Un hydrographe du roi à Québec: Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xii, sect. i, pp. 47-59).

A biographical sketch of Louis Jolliet's predecessor as royal hydrographer at Quebec, at the end of the seventeenth century, followed by a list of the twenty maps or charts which are known to have been made by him.

ROY, RÉGIS. *Jacques Cartier, était-il noble?* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiii, sect. i, pp. 61-67).

An attempt to prove that Jacques Cartier was, if not of noble birth, at any rate ennobled by virtue of holding the title of captain-general.

—— —— *Les Du Plessis* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 5, pp. 150-151).

A supplementary note to a paper by Mr. Benjamin Sulte on "Les deux Duplessis" in the fifth volume of his *Mélanges Historiques*.

—— —— *Les Secrétaires du Roi au Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 6, pp. 184-185).

An attempt to determine how many members of the college of royal secretaries there were in New France.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Les Forges Saint-Maurice.* (Mélanges historiques: Etudes éparses et inédites compilées et annotées par GÉRARD MALCHELOSSÉ, vol. vi.) Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1920.

Reviewed on page 310.

(3) The History of British North America to 1867

COLEMAN, CHRISTOPHER B. *The Ohio Valley in the Preliminaries of the War of 1812* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, June, 1920, pp. 39-50).

An important and interesting study of the causes of the war of 1812. The author undertakes to show that in the Ohio valley, where the demand for war was strongest, the underlying motive was "the conquest of Canada".

GORDON, R. K. *John Galt* (University of Toronto Studies, Philological Series, no. 5.) The University Library: published by the Librarian. 1920. Pp. 121.

Reviewed on page 324.

KELLOGG, LOUISE PHELPS (ed.). *Journal of a British Officer during the American Revolution* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, June, 1920, pp. 51-58).

The journal of Captain William Haslewood, of the 63rd Regiment, during the years 1775-1778. The journal was found among the papers of the late Mrs. N. W. Moore of St. Thomas, Ontario, and was rescued by her daughter as it was being thrown away.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The "Complete Emigrant"* (Canadian Magazine, July, 1920, pp. 225-230).

An account of a rare pamphlet, published in Toronto in 1848, under the title *A Catechism of Information for Intending Emigrants of all Classes to Upper Canada.*

LINDSAY, Mgr LIONEL. *La mission des prêtres Savoyards au Canada* (Canada Français vol. iv, no. 4, pp. 225-234; no. 5, pp.

An account, based on original research, of the attempt of Haldimand to bring out to Canada in 1781 some Roman Catholic priests from Savoy to fill up the thinning ranks of the French-Canadian clergy.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Le héros de Châteauguay et la Chanson* (Bulletin des recherches historique, vol. xxvi, no. 6, pp. 188-191).

A popular song of seven stanzas, composed by some of De Salaberry's men in 1812-13, and taken down from the lips of an old man in Montreal.

PAINE, RALPH D. *The Fight for a Free Sea: a Chronicle of the War of 1812.* (Chronicles of America series, vol. 17.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co. 1920. Pp. xi, 235.

Reviewed on page 320.

RIDDELL, the Hon. WILLIAM RENWICK. *A Contemporary Account of the Navy Island Episode, 1837* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiii, sect. ii, pp. 57-76).

The reproduction, with copious annotations, of parts of George Coventry's *Account of the Rebellion in Upper Canada, 1837*, printed in vol. xvii of the *Papers and Records* of the Ontario Historical Society, and reviewed on page .

—— —— *Extra-territorial Criminal Jurisdiction in British Canada* (Canadian Law Times, June, 1920, pp. 491-502).

An account of the proceedings in regard to two cases of murder in 1787-88, both of which had taken place outside the bounds of the old province of Quebec, as defined by the Quebec Act.

—— —— *When International Arbitration Failed* (Canadian Law Times, May, 1920, pp. 351-360).

An interesting summary of the proceedings of the international commission appointed by Great Britain and the United States in 1797, under Jay's Treaty, to adjudicate upon the debts owing in the United States to British subjects.

SANDS, HAROLD. *Cossacks and Canada* (Canadian *Magazine*, May, 1920, pp. 55-58).

A journalistic account of the Russians' exploration of Alaska, and their relations with the Hudson's Bay Company men from Canada.

SKELTON, OSCAR DOUGLAS. *The Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt.* Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. 586.

Reviewed on page 325.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Pierre Ducalvet* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiii, sect. i, pp. 1-11).

An attempt to revise the traditional French-Canadian estimate of Ducalvet, as revealed, for example, in Garneau; and a defence of Haldimand against the charge of tyranny and coercion sometimes brought against him.

WALLACE, W. S. *Some Letters of Francis Maseres: 1766-1768* (Canadian Magazine, July, 1920, pp. 208-212).

An article embodying extracts from *The Maseres Letters*, edited by the author in 1919.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

DECELLES, ALFRED D. *Laurier et son Temps.* Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1920. Pp. ix, 228.

Reviewed on page 328.

KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE. *The Initiative and Referendum in Canada* (Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, January, 1920).

A study of some progressive tendencies in Canadian politics.

MCLENNAN, J. S. *Canada's Administrative System* (Constitutional Review, October, 1919).

An essay on Canadian government by the chairman of the committee of the Canadian Senate appointed in 1919 to examine and to report on the machinery of government.

SENATE OF CANADA, SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE. *Report on the Machinery of Government.* Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1919. Pp. 39.

Noticed on page 240.

STEVENSON, J. A. *The Agrarian Movement in Canada* (Edinburgh Review, July, 1920, pp. 96-113).

A study of the organized farmers' movement in Canada to-day, on both its economic and political sides.

(5) The Great War

LEMIEUX, the Hon. RODOLPHE. *Le Canada, la Guerre, et Demain* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiii, appendix A, pp. xxxix-li).

Presidential address delivered before the Royal Society of Canada in May, 1919.

STEELE, Capt. HARWOOD. *The Canadians in France, 1915-1918.* London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1920. Pp. 364.

Reviewed on page 328.

MOORE, MARY MACLEOD. *The Story of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, London: 1915-1919.* London: The Maple Leaf Club. [1919.] Pp. 32.

An account of the first residential club for overseas soldiers established in London during the war.

MARQUIS, T. G., and others. *Canada in the Great World War.* Vol. IV: *The Turn of the Tide.* Toronto: United Publishers of Canada. [1920.] Pp. viii, 405.

Reviewed on page 330.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

MACKENZIE, CATHERINE DUNLOP. *The Charm of Cape Breton Island* (National Geographic Magazine, July, 1920, pp. 34-60).

A descriptive article, copiously illustrated with photographs.

MILLIDGE, the Rev. J. W. *Reminiscences of St. John from 1849 to 1860* (Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, no. 10, 1919, pp. 126-135).

Recollections of an old inhabitant.

MURDOCH, WILLIAM. *The Saint John Suspension Bridge* (Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, no. 10, 1919, pp. 104-125).

An account of the suspension bridge over the St. John River in New Brunswick which was opened in 1853 and removed in 1915.

RAYMOND, the Rev. W. O. *A Radical and a Loyalist: a Biographical Sketch of Elias Hardy, Barrister-at-Law at Saint John, N.B., 1784-1799* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiii, sect. ii, pp. 91-101).

An account of the life of a New Brunswick loyalist who was for many years the leader of the radical or "Lower Cove" element in St. John.

—— —— *Elias Hardy, Councillor-at-Law* (Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, no. 10, 1919, pp. 57-66).

A short paper containing the substance of the article by the same writer entitled *A Radical and a Loyalist*, printed in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiii.

—— —— *Peter Fisher, the First Historian of New Brunswick* (Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, no. 10, 1919, pp. 5-56).

An account of the life and writings of the author of *Sketches of New Brunswick (1825)* and *Notitia of New Brunswick (1838)*, the two first attempts at a history of the province. The paper includes also an interesting and valuable document con-

taining the story handed down in the Fisher family with regard to the coming of the loyalists to St. John.

—— —— *Robert Cooney, First Historian of Northern and Eastern New Brunswick* (Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, no. 10, 1919, pp. 67-85).

An account of the life of the author of the *Compendious History of the Northern and Eastern parts of the Province of New Brunswick*, published in Halifax by Joseph Howe in 1832. The paper is based on Cooney's autobiography, a rare book published in Montreal in 1856.

WATERBURY, D. H. *Retrospective Ramble over Historic St. John* (Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, no. 10, 1919, pp. 86-103).

Odds and ends of local history.

(2) The Province of Quebec

CARON, l'abbé IVANHOË. *La région de l'Abitibi*. Québec: Ministère de la Colonization. 1919. Pp. 62.

Colonization propaganda, illustrated with a map.

COUSINEAU, AIMÉ. *L'Habitation à Montréal* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Mars, 1920, pp. 85-94).

A statistical study, by the sanitary engineer attached to the Public Health department of the city of Montreal, of the question of housing and sanitation in that city.

LEVASSEUR, N. *Honorable Ph.-Aug. Choquette, ancien sénateur, juge de la Cour des Sessions de la Paix, Quebec*. Québec. 1920. Pp. 16.

A small pamphlet sketching the career of the Hon. Auguste Choquette, and reproducing a letter entitled "Reply to aspersions on French Canada" written by him to the *Saturday Review*.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Leblanc de Marconnay* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 6, pp. 177-179).

Biographical information regarding a French journalist who lived in Canada between 1834 and 1845, and who was both a "bureaucrate" and a free-mason.

—— —— *Les tribunaux de police de Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 6, pp. 180-183).

A sketch of the history of local criminal justice in Montreal.

SURVEYER, EDOUARD-FABRE. *Un école de droit à Montréal avant le code civil* (Revue Trunèstrielle Canadienne, Juin, 1920, pp. 140-150).

An account of the first law-school established in Lower Canada, in the year 1851.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BREITHAUPT, W. H. *Early Roads and Transportation, Upper Canada* (Seventh Annual Report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1919, pp. 59-66).

A paper chiefly concerned with the routes by which the early settlers reached Waterloo county in western Ontario.

COYNE, JAMES H. *David Ramsay and Long Point in Legend and History* (Transactions the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiii, sect. ii, pp. 111-126).

A critical examination of certain curious legends still current in the Long Point settlement on Lake Erie. There is a substratum of historical fact in the legends: David Ramsay, for example, was a Scotchman who settled on the Mohawk River soon after the British conquest in 1763. But the real facts about him have been overlaid by a vast amount of myth, in which buried treasure, divining rods, black dogs, and witch-doctors play a part.

HAMILTON, the Rev. A. M. *A Few Notes on the Early History of Chalmers' Church, Winterbourne* (Seventh Annual Report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1919, pp. 73-83).

Details concerning the early history of a Presbyterian church in Waterloo county which dates back to 1837.

HERRINGTON, W. S. *Some Notes on the Minutes of the Town Meetings of the Township of Sidney* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiii, sect. ii, pp. 77-90).

A valuable and interesting paper, based upon an examination of a carefully preserved minute-book in which have been entered the records of all the town meetings held in the township of Sidney, at the western end of the Bay of Quinté, from 1790 to 1849 inclusive. The paper is an important contribution to the early history of settlement in Upper Canada.

MACKENDRICK, J. N. *Local History in the Street Names of Galt* (Seventh Annual Report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1919, pp. 67-72).

A short paper accounting for the origin of some of the street names in Galt, Ontario.

MACMURCHY, ANGUS. *Sketch of the Life and Times of Joseph Curran Morrison and Angus Morrison, Presidents of St. Andrew's Society, 1850-54.* [Toronto.] 1918. Pp. 20.

A small pamphlet containing biographical details concerning two prominent citizens of Toronto in the fifties.

PIERCE, LORNE A. *The German Loyalist in Upper Canada* (Canadian Magazine, August, 1920, pp. 290-296).

An article explaining the existence of the large German element among the United Empire Loyalist settlers in Upper Canada.

RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *When the Court of King's Bench Broke the Law* (Canadian Law Times, July, 1920, pp. 549-559).

The story of the illegal admission to the Upper Canadian bar, in 1812-13, of six young men—one of whom was John Beverley Robinson.

—— —— *Old Province Tales: Upper Canada.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co. 1920. Pp. v, 280.

To be reviewed later.

(4) The Western Provinces

HOWAY, Judge F. W. *The Overland Journey of the Argonauts of 1862* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiii, sect. ii, pp. 37-55).

An account of the journey from Canada to British Columbia made in 1862 by a party of Canadian emigrants; based on the diaries of two brothers, named McMicking, who were of the party.

—— —— *The Voyage of the Hope: 1790-1792* (Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xi, no. 1, pp. 3-28).

A detailed study of the American expedition to the northwest coast of America in 1790-1792, based on the journal of the ship's captain Ingraham—a document which exists in manuscript in the Congressional Library at Washington.

LEWIS, WILLIAM S. *Francis Heron, Fur Trader: Other Herons* (Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xi, no. 1, pp. 29-34).

Biographical details concerning a Hudson's Bay Company trader who was in charge at Fort Colville and Nisqually between 1830 and 1835, and concerning his

son, who was born at Nisqually in 1834, and who was interviewed by the author as recently as 1915.

MACREETH, the Rev. R. G. *Land in British Columbia*. London: W. Stevens, Ltd. [n.d.] Pp. 49.

A pamphlet describing the possibilities of British Columbia for intending settlers.

PRIESTLEY, HERBERT INGRAM. *The Log of the Princesa by Estevan Martinez: What does it contribute to our knowledge of the Nootka Sound Controversy?* (Quarterly of the Oregan Historical Society, vol. xxi, no. 1, pp. 21-31).

An analysis of a diary of the Spanish expedition to Nootka Sound in 1789, recently secured from the *Deposito Hidrografico de Madrid*, and regarded by the author as "the best available source on affairs at Friendly Cove in the summer of 1798".

SCHOLEFIELD, GUY H. *The Pacific, its Past and Future; and the Policy of the Great Powers from the Eighteenth Century*. London: John Murray. 1919. Pp. xii, 346; maps.

Contains a chapter, entitled "The Canadian Outlook", which recounts briefly the history of Canada's relation to the political and economic problems connected with the Pacific Ocean.

SKINNER, CONSTANCE L. *Adventurers of Oregon: A Chronicle of the Fur Trade*. (The Chronicles of America, vol. 22.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co. 1920. Pp. x, 290.

Reviewed on page 318.

YOUNG, F. G. *Spain and England's Quarrel over the Oregon Country* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxi, no. 1, pp. 13-20).

"An introductory statement to furnish a setting for the incidents in the Log of the *Princesa* used by Professor Priestley [*q.v.*] to throw new light on the Nootka Sound affair of 1789."

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

BUCHANAN, Capt. ANGUS, M.C. *Wild Life in Canada*. McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart. 1920. Pp. xv, 264.

To be reviewed later.

CHICANOT, E. L. *Canada's Caribou and Reindeer Industry* (United Empire, May, 1920, pp. 245-247).

A brief paper describing the establishment of a new meat-producing industry in the wilds of northern Canada.

GIBBON, J. MURRAY. *The Foreign Born* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxvii, no. 4, pp. 331-351).

A popularly written discussion of the problem of the foreign-born population of Canada.

GOUIN, LÉON-MERCIER. *Le Status légal de nos syndicats ouvriers* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, juin, 1920, pp. 163-175).

A study of the legal position of trade unions in Canada at present.

KING, FRANCIS. *The Upper St. Lawrence* (Queen's *Quarterly*, vol. xxvii, no. 4, pp. 379-395).

A discussion of the question, now before the International Joint Commission, of making the St. Lawrence navigable for ocean-going ships.

KLUGH, A. BROOKER. *An Untapped Canadian Fuel Resource* (Canadian Magazine, May, 1920, pp. 48-52).

An account of the possibilities of the peat industry in Canada.

LAUT, AGNES C. *Is Era of Wildest Prosperity ahead of Canada To-day?* (Maclean's Magazine, vol. xxxiii, no. 10, pp. 9, 54-56).

An elaboration of the thesis, in italics, that "Canada is the most prosperous land in the war-devastated world to-day".

MARTIN, CHESTER. *"The Natural Resources Question": The Historical Basis of Provincial Claims.* Winnipeg, Manitoba: The King's Printer for the Province of Manitoba. 1920. Pp. 148.

To be reviewed later.

O'HARA, F. C. T. *Canada's Trade Scouts* (Maclean's Magazine, vol. xxxiii, no. 9 pp. 9-10, 54-57).

An article by the Canadian Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, describing the efforts of the Dominion government to develop the export trade of the Dominion.

SMITH, J. GROVE. *Fire Waste in Canada.* Ottawa: The Commission of Conservation. 1918. Pp. 319.

A report prepared for the Canadian Commission of Conservation on the fire losses of Canada, which appear to be proportionately greater than those of the United States, Great Britain, or Germany, and which, the writer says, "cannot but vitally affect the economic future of the country".

SMITH, W. G. *A Study in Canadian Immigration.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1920. Pp. 406; tables and map.

To be reviewed later.

STEPHENSON, J. NEWELL. *The Pulp and Paper Industry of Canada* (Journal of the Canadian Banker's Association, vol. xxvii, no. 3, pp. 325-333).

A brief, but informing article, by the editor of the *Pulp and Paper Magazine* of Canada.

V. ECCLESIASTICAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

BIRON, l'abbé DOLOR. *Jubilé d'argent et d'or de Mgr Paul Larocque.* Montréal: Imprimerie du Messager. 1920. Pp. 280.

An account of the celebration of the double jubilee of the Bishop of Sherbrooke, who has completed half a century in the priesthood and a quarter of a century in the episcopate.

BOURASSA, HENRI. *Le Canada apostolique: Revue des oeuvres de missions des communautés franco-canadiennes.* Bibliothéque de l'Action française. 1919. Pp. 173.

An account, by the editor of *Le Devoir*, of the missionary work carried out, both at home and abroad, by the French-Canadian church.

GREELEY, HUGH PAYNE, and GREELEY, FLORETTA ELMORE. *Work and Play in the Grenfell Mission: Extracts from the Letters and Journal of the authors*]. Introduction by Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell. Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co. [1920.] Pp. 192.

An account of the establishment, by two American doctors, of a hosiptal at Pilley's Island, in Green Bay, Newfoundland, in 1911-12, in connection with the Grenfell Mission to Deep-Sea Fishermen.

GRENFELL, ANNE and SPALDING, KATE. *Le Petit Nord, or Annals of a Labrador Harbour.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1920. Pp. viii, 199.

A description of social service work in a Labrador fishing settlement, cast in the form of a series of letters.

LECOMPTE, le Père ÉDOUARD, s.j. *Les Jésuites au Canada au XIXe siècle.* Tome I (1842-1872). Montréal: Imprimerie du Messager. 1920. Pp. 334.

The story of the work of the Jesuits after their return to Canada in 1842.

MAGNAN, C.-J. *Un héritage sacré: nos lois civiles concernant la Famille, la Propriété, l'Ecole, et la Paroisse.* Québec. 1920. Pp. 23.

A public lecture by the inspector-general of education in the province of Quebec.

SHORTT, ADAM. *Random Recollections of Queen's* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxvii, no. 4, pp. 352-363).

Reminiscences of Queen's University, Kingston, about the year 1880.

The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. I. TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1920 NO. 4

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE scope of THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW may have seemed to some readers unnecessarily narrow. It may be urged—it has been urged—that Canadian history is a subject of minor significance, and that the need of the Canadian people is to be informed, not about their own history, but about the history of other countries. There might seem to be good sense in following the example of the *English Historical Review* and the *American Historical Review*, and attempting to cover the whole field of ancient and modern history. At some future date, indeed, it may become advisable to enlarge somewhat the scope of this REVIEW. But for the present, it would appear to be the part of wisdom for us to confine ourselves to what lies at hand. In France, reviews have been founded for the sole purpose of the special study of one episode of French history, the French Revolution; in Canada, it would not seem unduly unambitious for us to limit ourselves to the whole of Canadian national history, especially if this is understood to include those aspects of the history of France, Great Britain, and the United States, without a knowledge of which Canadian history is hardly intelligible.

The idea, moreover, that Canadian history is a subject of minor significance is hardly true. The truth is that it has an importance and significance not always realized. Not only is the story of Canadian geographical exploration the story of the exploration of a very considerable part of the earth's surface; but the story of Canadian political development is one that bristles with

points of exceptional interest for the student of history and political science. Canada was not the first country which embarked on the experiment of federalism; but, in the history of federalism, Canada occupies a position of importance second only to that occupied by the United States, and the difference between the Canadian and the American experiments affords one of the most instructive contrasts in the whole sphere of modern government. But this is, after all, a comparatively trivial point. The real significance of Canadian history lies in the fact that, in the evolution of that new and unprecedented phenomenon, the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada has played a leading part. It was in Canada that responsible government—a term apparently of Canadian origin—was first worked out in the colonial sphere; and it was here that the forces of colonial nationalism first found free play within the circle of the Empire. The American Revolution disrupted the Old British Empire; the Canadian Revolution—if one may apply that term to the long, gradual, and peaceful process whereby Canada has achieved self-government—has, far from disrupting the Newer British Empire of to-day, probably strengthened the ties which bind it together. The history of a country which has thus blazed a trail through a hitherto unconquered region of political science, must surely be of crucial interest, not only to the people of that country itself, but also to students of politics wherever they may be found.

That the importance of Canadian history is being recognized abroad is becoming increasingly apparent. For a number of years now Canadian constitutional history has been one of the special subjects offered for study in the School of Modern History at the University of Oxford. Courses in Canadian history have also been established recently at other British universities, at London and elsewhere. In the United States, the subject has made its way more slowly. Before the war, so far as one's information goes, there was no university in the United States where Canadian history was a distinct subject of study. Within the last two or three years, however, a course in Canadian history has been established at Leland Stanford University, and placed in charge of a Canadian-born professor; and a similar course has been inaugurated at the Ohio State University. Signs are multiplying, moreover, that this is but a beginning, and that other universities are preparing to follow suit. In many of them, indeed, there are already offered courses in the history of the British

Empire, in which, inevitably, the history of Canada must play a considerable part. It is evident that the study of Canadian history is at last beginning to come into its own.

Perhaps, too, it may not be inappropriate here to point out the fact that the character of the work which has been, and is being, done in the field of Canadian history and government is also gaining recognition abroad. A proof of this is to be found in the growing welcome which Canadian scholars, speaking on Canadian subjects, have found before learned audiences in the United States. But the most striking recognition of the quality of the work being done by Canadian historical students is to be found in a very generous tribute which Sir Charles Lucas, himself a writer to whom the study of Canadian history is deeply indebted, has paid to it. Speaking at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on April 27, 1920, Sir Charles Lucas is reported as having said: "No mention had been made of the work that appealed to him most, and that was the extraordinarily able work that was being done in the self-governing Dominions on the arts side, and the history side especially. The History School in Canada was one of which any country on the face of the world would be proud, and the result of its work, and of similar work in Australasia and, very especially in South Africa, was that the young nations were getting to know their history in an infinitely greater degree than we, at home, know our long and complicated past. This meant that they were acquiring a stronger sense of and pride in their nationhood, and a better foundation for the future." If THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW can serve as the medium for the publication of work deserving half this handsome praise, it will have amply justified its existence.

In the present number of the REVIEW, we are glad to be able to publish several articles of first-rate importance. The paper by Dr. Archibald MacMechan, the Professor of English Literature at Dalhousie University, Halifax, traces a tendency in Canadian history to which little attention has hitherto been devoted by Canadian historians. In the paper entitled *The First "New Province" of the Dominion*, Mr. Chester Martin, the Professor of History in the University of Manitoba, not only tells for the first time in detail the story of the so-called "purchase" of the Hudson's Bay territories in 1869, and the creation of the province of Manitoba in 1870, but it is safe to say that he throws on these events a

wholly new light. The brief study of *The Portraits of Champlain*, by Mr. H. P. Biggar, the European representative of the Canadian Archives, not only shows conclusively that the portrait of Champlain which until recently passed as authentic is spurious, but traces the process by which the portrait came to be put forward as that of Champlain. Lastly, the reproduction of the hitherto unpublished journal of Walter Butler, edited by Mr. James F. Kenney of the Canadian Archives, places in print a most interesting document regarding the early history of what was destined to become Upper Canada.

CANADA AS A VASSAL STATE

FOR the thoughtful observer of our domestic politics even the gloom of the world situation has been sensibly lightened by noting the eagerness with which the so-called Autonomists of Canada have for years been following a false scent, and the vehemence with which they are barking up the wrong tree. What they pretend to fear is being dragged at the wheels of empire. England is the enemy, or rather a desperate knot of modern Machiavellis who are plotting at the centre (with *The Round Table* for ally) to enslave our beloved Dominion, or at least to limit our powers of self-determination. Now, when a man begins to cherish delusions, to believe himself to be the victim of a widespread mysterious conspiracy, it is time to call in the nerve specialist. That way madness lies. Nor is it less true of a group of men and an organized propaganda.

Does any sane man, woman, or child in Canada really believe that Great Britain would send one ship, or fire a single gun, to retain our country in the bonds of unwilling allegiance? To put the question is to answer it. The situation is unthinkable.

What is even more amusing than all this misdirected energy of the Autonomists is their blindness, a blindness shared by most Canadians, to the very real danger of bondage to another power. That power is the United States of America.

The threats of American politicians, editors, and Fourth of July orators, the organized effort for "commercial union" in 1891, the avowed purpose of the Dingley tariff, the possibility of a quarrel between Canada and the United States ending in an appeal to arms, may be lightly dismissed. The danger is far more subtle and far more deeply to be dreaded. It lies in gradual assimilation, in peaceful penetration, in a spiritual bondage—the subjection of the Canadian nation's mind and soul to the mind and soul of the United States. No long argument is needed to prove the imminent and deadly menace of this danger, and nothing should touch the pride of a young, strong, and ambitious people

like accepting tamely a position of inferiority to a powerful neighbour. Without any outward fetter it is the situation of a spiritual slave. Enforced political subjection is the lesser evil; it would be easier to bear, for the spirit could still be free.

Historically, Canada is a by-product of the United States. The American "plantations" were never at their ease as long as the power of France was enthroned at Quebec. It was largely through their activity that the Golden Lilies gave place to St. George's Cross; then, as Parkman points out, the road to independence was open. The successful rebellion of the Thirteen Colonies created Ontario, whither were driven the upholders of a lost cause and a sullied flag. And Ontario made the three prairie provinces. The expulsion of the Loyalists also created the province of New Brunswick, and set an ineffaceable mark upon Nova Scotia. At the present time the most progressive, intelligent and desirable immigrants into our West are Americans. What our histories do not teach, and what our people do not realize, is how many Americans, who were anything but Loyalists, settled in Canada, and how strong, from the very beginning, has been the drag towards the United States. Few realize that one county of loyal Nova Scotia sent delegates to the Philadelphia Congress of 1776, that there was a tea riot in Halifax, and that part of the population were active "sympathizers" with the "rebels" all through the Revolutionary War. General Cruikshank has shown how large was the disloyal element of American settlers in Ontario during the war of 1812. If the political "unpleasantness" of 1837 had reached its consummation, if Papineau and Mackenzie could have worked their will, Ontario and Quebec would now be states in the American union. It may be fairly argued that they were patriotic leaders, wise statesmen far in advance of their time, anticipating Goldwin Smith in their vision of Canada's manifest destiny, and that they will be justified by history. In the mean time, let their activities serve as illustration of the political "set" towards the United States. Another is the avowed movement towards annexation in 1849. There are Canadians who are not proud that their forebears signed the Montreal manifesto. Lord Elgin wrote that annexation was considered to be the remedy for every kind of Canadian discontent. He was haunted by the fear of it all through his tenure of office. Annexation had been preached by the radical journals for years; and it was confidently expected by politicians in the United States. The latest attempt at this form of national suicide was in 1891, and

it revolted the soul of Edward Blake. These facts indicate how currents of political thought have run. All are symptoms of the same general tendency of the greater to absorb the less. The sucking wave created by the passage of a huge liner through the water drags small craft into its wake. The *New York* drew H.M.S. *Gladiator* into its sphere of influence, with disastrous results. Which things are a parable.

It is inevitable that the United States should exert a tremendous influence upon Canada. Our domains march together for three thousand miles. The same speech, the same laws, the same religions prevail on both sides of the border, as Goldwin Smith was never weary of preaching. Intercourse between the countries is easy. A standard gauge and common courtesy have made the continent one country for purposes of railway transportation. C.P.R. cars may be seen in Texas, and Omaha and Santa Fé in Cape Breton. Traffic between Canada and the United States is far easier than between the separate colonies of the Australian Commonwealth. Then, our neighbours are many and rich; we are few in the land, and until lately we were very poor. Hundreds of thousands of Canadians have been drawn across the border, because of the better opportunities for making a living, and for making money, under the Stars and Stripes. All these things were inevitable, and tend to make of Canada nine more states not yet brought formally under the control of Washington.

But our spiritual subjection goes deeper. Canada has definitely, if tacitly, declared her position as between American and English ideals. To begin with the individual. The most popular set of caricatures ever designed in this country were Racey's protrayal of the green "young Englishman" and his mistakes, much as the "new chum" is represented in Australia. The Englishman's accent, voice, manner, clothes are considered odd, departing from the norm. The American's are not, because they do not strike us as different from our own.

Take the most potent influence at work to-day upon the popular mind, our journalism. Hundreds of thousands of Canadians read nothing but the daily newspaper. Not only is the Canadian newspaper built on American lines, but it is crammed with American "boiler-plate" of all kinds, American illustrations, American comic supplements. American magazines, some of them distinctly anti-British in tone and tendency, flood our shops and book-stalls. Every new Canadian magazine is on an Ameri-

can model, some of them borrowing an American title and changing only the national adjective. *The Week*, founded on the English model, is dead; and so is *The University Magazine*.

Another potent influence for bringing Canada into spiritual subjection to the United States is the moving-picture show. The films are made for American audiences, naturally, to suit their taste. Then, they come to Canada. We originate none, practically. I dropped into a "movie" theatre in a small Nova Scotian town. It was filled with noisy, excited children. The point of the plot was the continual thwarting of a villain through the agency of several small boys and girls. They occurred and recurred in a sort of procession, the leader carrying the Stars and Stripes; and whenever they appeared the little Bluenoses cheered like mad.

The case of Capital and Labour in Canada is notorious. Self-determination is a joke. The price of our steel products is fixed in New York, and our Nova Scotia miners obey the orders of a *Vehmgericht* in Indianapolis. The protective tariff has forced many American firms to establish branches in Canada. A large part of our prosperity is due to this exhibition of American enterprise, and not to the initiative of our own business men. Our business methods are American, with the exception of our great banking system.

American influence is seen even more plainly in our universities. The curriculum, text-books, methods of teaching, oversight of students, "credits," are borrowed from the United States. Organization and administration are on the American model. Among the students, American ideas prevail. Such matters as Greek letter societies, class organizations, with president, prophet, critic, and "exercises," down to the big initial on the football sweater and the curious war-cries known as class and college yells, are borrowed directly from American colleges. Our students did not originate these ideas; they borrowed them. The Dalhousie "yell," for example, was introduced by an American teacher of music.

Canadian sport has become more and more American. Our one native game, lacrosse, is dead. Cricket, which flourishes in Australia, is here a sickly exotic. But baseball is everywhere. Our newspapers are filled with reports of the various "leagues."

In minor matters, the popularity of such toys as the Teddy-bear, that curious tribute to the worth of an American president, the spread (by seductive advertising) of the chewing gum habit,

the establishment of the automatic chewing gum machine, that monument of progressive civilization, are all to be reckoned with. Our fashions in clothes are decreed for us in New York, whither our tailors resort yearly to ascertain "what will be worn"; and our youths develop knobbly shoulders, semi-detached trousers with permanent cuffs or hour-glass waists, according to the whim of certain multiples of nine in the commercial metropolis of America. All these are straws showing how the wind blows.

The list of such straws might be extended indefinitely. No Canadian ever invents a new slang term. All our slang is brought in and distributed by the American "shows," of one kind or another. We have imported Thanksgiving Day, a heathen festival of autumn, as Goldwin Smith points out, Labour Day, Arbor Day, Mothers' Day. As soon as our cousins south of the line decide to celebrate Great-grandmothers' Day we will uncritically adopt it too. Fate has even underlined this tendency by placing our national birthday on the First, beside the American Fourth, of July. Our very coinage bears the impress of our neighbours' customs. Our children call cents "pennies" (thus showing that the half is at least equal to the whole), and our pretty five cent silver pieces they call "nickels," after their ugly American equivalents. The government mint itself has followed the stream of tendency and issued cents the size of the American cent. Our police uniform badges and clubs are American. Our patriotic buttons—An Amerian idea—are made in Newark, New Jersey.

The wholesome but unpleasant truth has been uttered by an American historian. At the end of his *True History of the American Revolution*, Mr. Fisher speculates as to what Americans would have developed into had there never been any break with England. His judgment is, "We might have been a tamer, less inventive people, like the Canadians."

"Tamer and less inventive." The only way to controvert such an opinion is to point to our inventions. We invent nothing. The various fraternal orders invade us from the United States. The Rotary Club is another instance. It is, no doubt, an admirable organization, though intrigued by the title I was personally disappointed to find that the Rotarians did not rotate on their own axes like the Whirling Dervishes. But why did not a Canadian invent it? Why must we be always borrowing ideas from our big neighbour?

Reviewing all these facts the pessimist may well shake his head and sigh: "Perhaps, after all, it is not worth while struggling

on, trying to make Canada a distinct nation. Best give up the struggle. Work along the line of least resistance. Perhaps the utmost we can ever hope to become is a poor pale imitation of the United States."

But the optimist will have his say, as well. "Confronting all these facts, and many more which might be alleged, I find that there always has been a viewless force making for national unity, not only strong enough to resist the drag towards absorption in our neighbour state, but to create a national spirit, a national character, a national unity. That spirit is now more potent, that character more clearly defined, that unity more compact than ever before. A whole set of factors have been omitted from your calculation. The test of a man's courage, energy, resource is how he acts in a sudden, unforeseen emergency, a matter of life and death. So of nations. The supreme test for Canada came in August, 1914. She did not hesitate for one moment. No doubt clouded her judgment; she saw at once the issues of the struggle as clear as the su n at noon-day. At once she took her side for life or death. With incredible youthful energy she hurried her first army to the relief of Mother England. Six weeks after the declaration of war, thirty-three thousand armed, equipped and organized fighting Canadians were on their way across the Atlantic. To her lovers in those great and gallant days Canada seemed the lady knight, Britomart, beautiful and terrible, hastening to the field, and buckling on her armour as she ran. Of the Canadian Army, Currie could say, as Cromwell said of his Ironsides, 'Truly, they were never beaten.' Ypres, Vimy, Passchendaele, Bourlon Wood, and a hundred other fights, bear witness to that saying. Our enemies themselves being judges, the Canadians were the shock troops of the British Army. And was there a single failure at home, behind the fighting line? Was there ever a halt in the stream of men, money, aid of every kind, pouring across the seas to their relief? In the darkest days of the great defeat, was there ever the flutter of a white flag from one end of Canada to the other? Did a single newspaper ever hint at surrender or compromise with the foe? And our glorious women—how they toiled! How nobly they bore their losses! How they tended the wounded, cared for dependents, nursed, and comforted and educated the broken men back from the war! From first to last, at home and abroad, the record is of imperishable glory. On Canada's escutcheon there is not the slightest blot. For four years Canada lived on the heights of heroism. The national spirit revealed in the

fierce storm of war was alive, if latent, before the war; it is alive now. It has the power to shape a national ideal worthy of Canada's part in the great struggle and to lift our people to its height."

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN

THE FIRST "NEW PROVINCE" OF THE DOMINION

THE present year is remarkable for a unique series of anniversaries in the history of Western Canada. May 2 was the quarter-millennium of the granting of the Hudson's Bay Charter. April 8 was the centenary of the death of Selkirk, the first to establish permanent settlement, as distinct from the fur-trade, west of the Great Lakes. July 15 was the jubilee of the entrance of Manitoba into the Canadian Confederation.

All three episodes were beset with legal or political controversy; a characteristic of western history that is found to be even more pronounced, perhaps, than the mystery and romance usually associated with vicissitudes of discovery and adventure. The Charter was assailed periodically for two centuries, and it survived largely through sheer longevity and the excesses of its enemies. Selkirk's project, which saved what is now the province of Manitoba from the fate of Oregon, was almost strangled by litigation which not only dwarfed the Red River Settlement for more than a whole generation but sent its founder to an early grave. Similarly, the whole political history of Manitoba, from the Manitoba Act—which was found to be largely *ultra vires* of the Federal Government—to the Remedial Bill and the "Natural Resources Question", has been complicated by constitutional issues of the first magnitude, many of them even yet undetermined. Constitutional principles, as Abraham Lincoln once said of the American Constitution during the Civil War, have "had a rough time of it"; and practically all of these issues are traceable, directly or indirectly, to the conditions under which Manitoba, and indeed the whole of Rupert's Land and the "North-Western Territory", entered the Canadian Confederation in 1870.

Despite the fact that the events of 1870 bear all the marks of haste and unpreparedness, Canadian expansion westward had been generally accepted for nearly fifteen years, in Canada and even in Great Britain, as an inevitable development. Free trade in furs,

conceded at the Red River Settlement after the Sayer trial in 1849, attracted both Canadian and American enterprise until in the year 1856 no fewer than five hundred Red River carts plied between Fort Garry and the American border. In September of that year Vankoughnet, the president of the Canadian Executive Council, declared that the western boundary of Canada ought to be the Pacific, and the suggestion was "echoed throughout the province by the press and by public men of all degrees."[1] Canadian representatives appeared before a sub-committee of the Select Committee of the British House of Commons in 1857, though the impression which they created was not particularly favourable. When the famous *Report* upon the Hudson's Bay Company appeared in that year it was found to contain the recommendation that "the districts on the Red River and the Saskatchewan" should be "ceded to Canada on equitable principles" by "arrangements as between Her Majesty's Government and the Hudson's Bay Company."[2]

The interest in the West during the following decade—too general and too well sustained to be the work, as many professed to believe, of a few enthusiasts—is to be traced in a remarkable variety of activities: surveys for the "Dawson route" to the Red River Settlement, the Hind expedition to report upon the prospects for settlement, the incorporation of the North-West Transit Company, and an attempt to establish a Canadian mail service in 1858. Hitherto the Canadian policy had been directed against the validity of the Hudson's Bay Charter: with something more than disregard for the interests of that Company and with a degree of vehemence which did not inspire confidence in British official circles. In 1859, however, vindication by law was definitely abandoned in favour of political negotiations with the Imperial government. The Canadian executive council, confronted by the necessity of making good their claims by judicial action, declined to "advise steps to be taken for testing the validity of the Charter by *scire facias*".[3] The decision is only partially to be attributed to uneasiness with regard to the outcome, for Confederation was already in the air, and sympathetic parliamentary action was both cheaper and less precarious than litigation. Among the positive as distinct from the negative incentives to Confederation—the

[1] *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 1857, p. 249.

[2] *Report from the Select Committee*, 1857, p. iv.

[3] *Papers relative to the Hudson's Bay Company's Charter and Licence to Trade*, 1859, p. 5.

constructive attempt to achieve something better as distinct from the attempt to escape from something worse[1]—the prospect of westward expansion to the Pacific was not the least considerable. The last executive council of the old province of "Canada" recorded its conviction (June 22, 1866) that "the future interests of Canada and all British North America were vitally concerned in the immediate establishment of a strong Government there, and in its settlement as a part of the British Colonial System".[2]

When Confederation was finally consummated, provision was made in the British North America Act, 1867, "on address from the Houses of the Parliament of Canada to admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, or either of them, into the Union, on such terms and conditions in each case as are in the Addresses expressed and as the Queen thinks fit to approve, subject to the provisions of this Act" (section 146). Pursuant to this section of the B.N.A. Act, 1867, the Canadian Senate and House of Commons during their first session (December 16 and 17, 1867) passed a joint address in which they prayed to be allowed to "assume the duties and obligations of government as regards these territories" and urged "the formation therein of political institutions bearing analogy, as far as the circumstances will admit, to those which exist in the several provinces of the Dominion".

Such in very brief outline were the preliminaries to the measures that were taken in 1868 to "admit Rupert's Land . . . into the Union" under section 146 of the B.N.A. Act of 1867 and "subject to the provisions of this Act". It soon became obvious that there were very grave difficulties in the way. One series of difficulties was chiefly constitutional in character, and the discussion of these difficulties naturally took place in London. A second series, chiefly political, came to an issue at the Red River Settlement. A third, chiefly legal and statutory, centred naturally at Ottawa. The nature of these difficulties and the various expedients by which they were eventually overcome would seem to warrant examination in some detail, because it is scarcely too much to say that these have altered profoundly, not only the amplitude, but in some respects the very nature, of the Canadian Confederation.

[1] "Danger of impending anarchy."—Sir John A. Macdonald. "We cannot go back to chronic sectional hostility and discord."—George Brown. "We would be forced into the American Union."—Taché.

[2] Quoted afterwards with significant approval by the Colonial Office, Granville to Young, Nov. 30, 1869, *Correspondence connected with Recent Occurrences in the North-West Territories*, 1870, p. 139.

I. THE CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFICULTIES

The chief constitutional difficulties arose from the divergent views of the three chief parties to "the transfer".

Throughout the developments hitherto the attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company seems to have been regarded as a secondary consideration: a fact which is not altogether to be explained by the vehemence of Canadian claims or the apathy of the British government. The old Company had been bought in 1863 by the International Financial Company, with Sir Edmund Head himself as the new Governor. It was argued, not without a measure of justice, that the purchase of Hudson's Bay stock with full knowledge of the conditions weakened very materially any claim which the old Company might have advanced for special consideration.

The *Prospectus* of the new directorate in 1863, however, announced a radically new policy of "colonization under a liberal and systematic scheme of land settlement" and "in accord with the industrial spirit of the age". It was the first official avowal of settlement, as distinct from the fur-trade of the Company, since the death of Selkirk. A resolution of the committee in August, 1863, was "intended to indicate their desire for the establishment of a Crown Colony in this portion of their territory". As late as February, 1869, in fact, the Governor of the Company informed the Colonial Office that "they still believe that this would be the most satisfactory plan that could be pursued, and they are prepared to discuss it with Her Majesty's Government if they are encouraged to do so".[1] Had this course been pursued—had Assiniboia, like Prince Edward Island and British Columbia, been in a position to enter Confederation after negotiations upon terms mutually satisfactory to both parties—many of the bitterest controversies of the last fifty years might have been avoided. The proposals of the Company in 1864, however, included the retention of an extensive proprietary interest in the land,[2] and this suggestion the Colonial Office very justly refused to entertain. The

[1] Northcote to Rogers, Feb. 26, 1869, *Correspondence relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, p. 38.

[2] Letters from the Company dated Apr. 13 and Dec. 7, 1864, and from the Colonial Office, Mar. 11, Apr. 6 and June 6, 1864. "The compensation should be derived from the future proceeds of the lands, and of any gold which may be discovered in Rupert's Land, coupled with reservations of defined portions of land to the Company."—*Correspondence relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, p. 22.

chief reasons are stated to Sir Edmund Head in terms which leave nothing to be desired: "In an unsettled colony there is no effectual mode of taxation for purposes of government and improvement, and the whole progress of the Colony depends on the liberal and prudent disposal of the land. . . . It is clear that colonists of the Anglo-Saxon race look upon the land revenue as legitimately belonging to the community".[1]

The failure of negotiations in 1864 and the evidence that the new Canadian Confederation had the support of the Colonial Office in aspiring to a transcontinental Dominion resulted in a complete change of front, therefore, on the part of the Company when negotiations were resumed in 1868 for the transfer of Rupert's Land and the "North-Western Territory" to the new Confederation. There was a natural reluctance amounting to a decided refusal to accede to the transfer upon the basis of the B.N.A. Act of 1867 (section 146) alone, since this would have left the chartered rights of the Company in Rupert's Land, for which compensation was not unjustly demanded,[2] to the tender mercies of Canadian courts. The attitude of Chief Justice Draper during the controversies of the fifties did not promise a very sympathetic regard for the claims of the Company, and it was not difficult in 1868 to adduce evidences of deliberate design from the speeches of Canadian statesmen.

The Company, therefore, was inclined to insist upon something more tangible than "such terms and conditions as are in the Addresses expressed" by the Canadian Houses of Parliament or even such "as the Queen thinks fit to approve, subject to the provisions of this Act". The Colonial Secretary[3] indeed made it clear to the Canadian government, in a despatch which deserves the most careful consideration, that the Colonial Office not only conceded the point but contemplated an Imperial bill to safeguard the Company:

> The Company have held their Charter, and exercised privileges conferred by it, for 200 years, including rights of government and legislation, together with the property of all the lands and precious metals; and various eminent law officers, consulted in succession, have all declared that the validity of this Charter cannot justly be disputed by the Crown. . . .

[1] *Correspondence relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, Appendix iii, p. 68.

[2] Cf. the views of the Colonial Secretary quoted below. *Correspondence relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, p. 12.

[3] The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

> I have, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, called upon the Company to state the terms upon which they would be prepared to surrender to the Crown whatever rights they have over the lands and precious metals, including the rights of government. . . .
>
> I propose to introduce a Bill into the Imperial Parliament. . . . authorising the subsequent transfer to the Canadian Government of the rights and powers to be acquired by the Crown in respect to Government and property, in accordance with the prayer of the Address.
>
> With respect to the North West Territory, the same obstacles do not exist to the transfer of the greater part by the Crown to Canada at the present time. . . .[1]

It thus came to pass that the original instrument of cession (the B.N.A. Act of 1867, section 146) was supplemented by the Rupert's Land Act of 1868, providing specifically for two things: (*a*) the surrender of chartered rights in Rupert's Land to the Crown "upon such Terms and Conditions as shall be agreed upon by and between Her Majesty and the said Governor and Company", and (*b*) that by Imperial Order in Council, Rupert's Land "shall, from a Date to be therein mentioned, be admitted into and become a Part of the Dominion of Canada".[2] It is to be observed that the second of these merely confirms the B.N.A. Act of 1867, section 146, while the first relates only to the surrender of the Company's chartered rights to the Crown, a transaction in which Canada is as yet in no way concerned. The Canadian delegates, Cartier and McDougall, pointed out emphatically that the Rupert's Land Act "was not introduced at the instance or passed in the interest of the Canadian Government", and that it "placed the negotiations of the terms of surrender by the Company to the Crown in the hands of Her Majesty's Government where . . . we are of opinion it must remain".[3]

The Rupert's Land Act, therefore, was designed to secure compensation for the Hudson's Bay Company for the surrender of chartered rights to the Crown. With regard to the form of that compensation, the Company had developed very decided views. The retention of proprietary rights over the land had long since been abandoned as a result of the negotiations of 1864. At the half-yearly meeting of Hudson's Bay shareholders during the

[1] Duke of Buckingham to Viscount Monck, Apr. 23, 1868, *Correspondence relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, p. 12.

[2] 31 & 32 Vic., c. 105, ss. 3 and 5.

[3] *Correspondence relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, p. 44.

summer of 1868, the demand was formulated for "the payment, as compensation, of a sum of hard money", the sum of "one million sterling, in bonds" being mentioned by the Company's officials as a settlement which "might be acceptable to our proprietors".[1] It was thus that the demand for "compensation" for the surrender to the Crown came to complicate the constitutional procedure for the other two parties to the transfer.

The second party in the case, the Imperial government, sought to play throughout a detached and judicial role. There is discernible a very marked inclination to shift the burden of responsibility for the West to the shoulders of the young Dominion, and the chief concern of the British government seems to have been to effect the transfer with the maximum of speed and the minimum of friction. The rights of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island by the Letters Patent of January 13, 1849, had been re-purchased in 1867 for £57,500.[2] The money had been paid by the British Treasury, and the colony proceeded to develop towards responsible government with all its natural resources at its disposal. The provision in the Rupert's Land Act for the surrender of Hudson's Bay chartered rights in Rupert's Land to the Crown "upon such Terms and Conditions as shall be agreed upon by and between Her Majesty and the said Governor and Company", seemed to imply the same procedure with regard to Rupert's Land. The Canadian delegates, as already noticed, were not backward in suggesting as much to the Colonial Office, but they discovered with some dismay that the British government expected the parental obligations which the mother country had discharged towards Vancouver Island to be discharged towards Rupert's Land by the new foster-parent. When the Rupert's Land Act, which was introduced in the House of Lords, reached the House of Commons, it was amended by a very significant proviso which has supplied the cause—or rather, it must be said, the pretext—for a whole half-century of mischief. The section (31 &

[1] Kimberley to Rt. Hon. C. B. Adderley, Oct. 27, 1869, *Correspondence relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, p. 25.

[2] "In consideration of the sum of fifty-seven thousand five hundred pounds, so paid by or on behalf of Her said Majesty to the said Company . . . they the said Company do for themselves and their successors by these presents, grant, convey, yield up and surrender unto Her said Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors, all that the said Island called Vancouver Island, together with all Royalties of the Seas . . . and all mines Royal, and all rights, . . . and appurtenances whatsoever to the said Island."—*Indenture of April 3, 1867*. Report on British Columbia, *Can. Sessional Papers*, 1872, No. 5, Paper No. 10, Appendix TT, p. 237.

32 Vic., c. 105, s. 3) providing for the surrender to the Crown "upon such Terms and Conditions as shall be agreed upon by and between Her Majesty and the said Governor and Company" was amended by the stipulation that "no Charge shall be imposed by such Terms upon the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom".[1]

It became evident, therefore, that if "the payment, as compensation, of a sum of hard money", was indispensable for the surrender of the Company's chartered rights in Rupert's Land to the Crown, and if this "payment" was to involve "no Charge . . . upon the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom", it would be necessary for Canada to undertake the compensation of the Hudson's Bay Company. *Hinc illae lacrymae;* and it is not difficult to trace the reluctance with which this was undertaken by the third party in the case.

From the date of the abandonment of judicial proceedings by *scire facias* in 1859, the "Canadian" government, and after 1867 the government of the Dominion, had consistently contended for the direct cession of Rupert's Land to Canada by Imperial Order-in-Council without reference to the claims of any third party in the case. The Canadian delegates, in a memorandum approved by the Canadian Privy Council, December 28, 1867, expressed "the opinion of the Canadian Government, that it is highly expedient that the transfer which the Imperial Government has authorized, and the Canadian Parliament approved, should not be delayed by negotiations or correspondence with private or third parties".[2]

The Canadian delegates, as already indicated, declined from the first all responsibility for the terms of surrender by the Company to the Crown: the Rupert's Land Act had "placed the negotiations . . . in the hands of Her Majesty's Government where . . . we are of opinion it must remain." The "Terms and Conditions" of surrender to the Crown, therefore, were drawn up categorically by the Colonial Office and forced upon both parties by more than gentle pressure.[3] To the end, Canada continued to demand "either the immediate transfer of the sovereignty of the

[1] *Hudson's Bay Company Bill (H.L.) Commons Amendment.* Ordered to be printed, 23rd July, 1868. The Rupert's Land Act received the royal assent, July 31, 1868.

[2] "Whose position, opinions, and claims have heretofore embarrassed both Governments in dealing with this question."—*Correspondence relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, p. 3.

[3] *Correspondence relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, pp. 40-45.

whole territory, subject to the rights of the Company, or a transfer of the sovereignty and property of all the territory not heretofore validly granted to, and now held by, the Company under its charter." [1]

When the amount of the pecuniary "compensation" for the surrender to the Crown was finally fixed at £300,000, the payment was regarded by the Canadian delegates as a species of settlement by compromise out of court. In their acquiescence in t he proposals of the Colonial Office, the payment to the Hudson's Bay Company is referred to as the "cost of legal proceedings necessary, if any be necessary, to recover possession . . . Compromises of this kind are not unknown in private life, and the motives and calculations which govern them may be applicable to the present case."[2]

Nowhere, perhaps, was the whole transaction more succinctly described in its constitutional aspect than by the Canadian delegates themselves: "The surrender of the powers of government and of territorial jurisdiction by the Company to the Crown, and the transfer of these powers to the Canadian Government, are acts of State, authorised by Imperial Statute, and will have all the force and permanence of fundamental law." [3]

Despite the constitutional difficulties, therefore, by which the whole transaction was beset, the actual transfer took place with scrupulous regard for sound British constitutional procedure. The deed of surrender from the Company to the Crown is dated November 19, 1869. It was provided by the Rupert's Land Act, section 4, that "Upon the Acceptance by Her Majesty of such Surrender, all Rights of Government and Proprietary Rights, and all other Privileges, Liberties, . . . whatsoever granted . . . to the said Governor and Company within Rupert's Land . . . shall be absolutely extinguished."

The deed of surrender was received by the Colonial Office on May 9, 1870, and upon the same day Sir John Rose, on behalf of Canada, was "requested to pay over the sum of 300,000*l.* to the Company." [4] The receipt of the payment (from Messrs Baring and Glyn) was acknowledged by the Company on May 11.[5] The

[1] *Correspondence relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, p. 37.

[2] Cartier and McDougall to the Colonial Office, Feb. 8, 1869, *Report of Delegates appointed to negotiate for the Acquisition of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory*, Ottawa, 1869. This report was formally approved by Order in Council, May 14, 1869.

[3] *Correspondence relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, p. 45.

[4] Rogers to Lampson, *Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement*, 1870, p. 214.

[5] Lampson to Under-Secretary for the Colonies, *Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement*, p. 214.

surrender was formally accepted by the Crown "under the Sign Manual and Signet" on June 22, 1870. The cession to Canada was effected on July 15 in pursuance of another Imperial Order-in-Council, dated June 23, 1870. Upon June 22, therefore, Rupert's Land must be regarded as passing from the proprietary control of the Company, and entitled, first under Imperial control and after July 15 as a part of the Dominion of Canada, to all fundamental British rights and privileges "as a part of the British Colonial System." [1]

In view of the importance of these facts for the prairie provinces of Canada, one or two observations with regard to these constitutional difficulties, as a whole, may not be out of place. It is seen that the only part of the whole transaction which involved compensation of any kind was the surrender of Hudson's Bay chartered rights in Rupert's Land to the Crown. Canada was coerced (by the amendment to section 3 of the Rupert's Land Act) into making that compensation, since the Dominion was assuming the obligations with regard to Rupert's Land usually discharged by the United Kingdom and just discharged, for instance, with regard to Vancouver Island. Rupert's Land, therefore, came to Canada not by "purchase" from the Hudson's Bay Company, but by cession from the Crown by "acts of State, authorised by Imperial Statute," and with "all the force and permanence of fundamental law." By the surrender to the Crown the old system of proprietary administration was (by the Rupert's Land Act) "absolutely extinguished." The object of that surrender was not the perpetuation of that proprietary administration in Rupert's Land "for the purposes of the Dominion," [2] instead of for the purposes of the Hudson's Bay Company, but rather "its settlement," as the Canadian executive council had begged and the Colonial Office had enjoined, "as a part of the British Colonial System." The cession to Canada left all the constitutional implications of that system unimpaired.

Since the granting of "responsible government" the implications of the "British Colonial System" have been so uniformly recognized and applied that the prairie provinces of Canada alone, among all the self-governing provinces and Dominions of the British Empire, constitute the actual exceptions to their operation.

[1] Granville to Young, Nov. 30, 1869, quoting the Order-in-Council of the Province of Canada, June 22, 1866.—*Correspondence connected with Recent Occurrences in the North-West Territories*, 1870, p. 139.

[2] Manitoba Act, 33 Vic., c. 3, s. 30.

A province which in the process of self-government relieved the Crown of the burdens of local administration was entitled to all the resources of the Crown for that purpose. "Full rights over the lands" were thus concomitant with responsible government in all the original provinces of Canada.[1] Those rights of provincial control of the public domain were safeguarded in section 109 of the B.N.A. Act of 1867. The same rights have been recognized in the cases of all other provinces which have since entered Confederation. In the case of the prairie provinces alone, as Keith points out, Canada "has not adopted British ideas in dealing with the land;" and the Dominion "manages to control lands despite the existence of the provinces . . . in a way which would never have been possible to an Imperial power which had no direct share in the ordinary government of the country."[2]

The tradition of the "purchase" of Rupert's Land by the Dominion, therefore, is seen to be unwarranted either in actual fact or in legal fiction. There would seem to be no parallel to such a conception in British constitutional procedure; and the half-century of traditional "possession" by Canada of "property," "purchased," "owned" and "administered by the Government of Canada" (as provided in the Manitoba Act) "for the purposes of the Dominion" has not unnaturally been regarded as an unwarranted violation of fiduciary obligations which the Dominion had assumed with regard to Rupert's Land "as a part of the British Colonial System" and "in conformity with the equitable principles which have uniformly governed the British Crown."

It is a remarkable fact that the first overt act of the Dominion, after assuming these functions of parental government, was to appropriate by federal statute the public domain of the new province of Manitoba "for the purposes of the Dominion."

II. THE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES

A second series of difficulties—chiefly political in character—was encountered in the local opposition to the transfer at Red River.

Without magnifying the specific aims of Riel and his associates in the Insurrection of 1869-70, it will be admitted that the views of the inhabitants of "Assiniboia" had received very scanty con-

[1] Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, ii, 1047.
[2] Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, ii, 1051, 1053.

sideration. They had been disposed of very much as Sir Anthony Absolute wished to dispose of Mrs. Malaprop's niece in marriage to his son; if the Captain was to get the fortune he must "have the estate with the live stock upon it as it stands." A small but aggressive Canadian party at the Settlement had been advocating "Canadian Union" unceasingly for ten years, but with such vehemence and indiscretion as to antagonize the most influential elements of the community. By 1870 the great mass of the inhabitants regarded with uneasiness the prospect of domination by those whose countrymen at Red River no longer possessed their confidence.

The Hudson's Bay officials could scarcely be expected to be enthusiastic. Even in 1863 they had viewed the sale of the Company to the International Financial Company with deep indignation. "The Hudson's Bay men," wrote Hargrave, regarded the new Governor at the Settlement "as being with all his ability not much better than a 'greenhorn.' "[1] When the news of an early transfer to Canada reached Red River, it was received by the Company's men with something like consternation. The Chief Factors and Chief Traders, deprived of their accustomed prestige in the community, received no share either of the pecuniary "compensation" for the surrender to the Crown or of the "one-twentieth part" of each township "within the Fertile Belt" reserved to the Company at the transfer. Governor McTavish passed through Ottawa, and was not impressed by the solicitude of the Canadian government. "These gentlemen," he wrote, "are of opinion that they know a great deal more about the country than we do." The truth was that the Hudson's Bay officials had been ignored both by the Dominion and by those in London from whom they had a right to expect greater consideration. Of all the changes of fortune wrought by the transfer, theirs was perhaps the most considerable. With one or two conspicuous exceptions, however, they were by no means favourably disposed towards Riel and his associates. There is abundant evidence that "Company's men" had everything to lose and nothing to gain by the Insurrection.[2] Archbishop Machray, in a confidential report which is perhaps the most convincing and well-balanced of all the contemporary records of the Insurrection, suggested that "most undeserved suspicion has been thrown out upon Gentlemen whose reports could have been thoroughly relied upon . . . I am

[1] *Red River*, p. 259.

[2] Cf. Dr. Cowan's *Diary* at Fort Garry, in the Canadian Archives.

perfectly sure that no dissatisfaction of the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company had anything to do with these troubles."

The attitude of the Company's officials was reflected in that of the majority of the old English-speaking settlers whose traditional attachment to the Company had been fortified by interest, by intermarriage, and by deliberate policy. The old settlers "never had any doubt that the matter would soon right itself," [1] but there was naturally little enthusiasm for the transfer. The whole circle of Hudson's Bay influence, unattracted and in some cases antagonized by the Canadian party at the Settlement, contented itself with acquiescence; and acquiescence was unjustly stigmatized by the Canadians as "cowardice" in the face of Riel's truculent domination at Fort Garry, and was stigmatized in turn by the French as a betrayal of the traditional "neighbourliness and good feeling" which had obtained hitherto among the older settlers of Assiniboia.

It will not be necessary to trace in detail the course of the Riel Insurrection, but the political difficulties at Red River undoubtedly arose from the French and Roman Catholic section of the community; and French obstruction to the Union in 1869-70 has undoubtedly left its mark upon the subsequent political history, not only of Manitoba, but of the whole Dominion.

The policy of building up a smaller Quebec upon the banks of the Red River had been patiently and successfully pursued for more than fifty years. The French *Métis*, the chief charge of a devoted clergy, had not lost the characteristics which Ross had attributed to the preceding generation. They were "generous, warm-hearted and brave, and left to themselves, quiet and orderly." Living still largely by the buffalo hunt, their credulous good-nature and their very improvidence left them responsive to clerical control. They were correspondingly dependent upon their clerical guardians for knowledge and counsel. By 1869 they had become thoroughly alarmed by the changing order of the times. *The Nor'Wester* predicted imminent changes "before the march of a superior intelligence." The *Métis* sought to "raise some breakwater" against the deluge. They were "uneducated, and only half civilized," said Riel before the Council of Assiniboia on October 25, 1869, "and felt, if a large immigration were to take place, they would probably be crowded out." They had been "sold like so many sheep" and disposed of "like the buffaloes on

[1] "They certainly never did anything to give a beginning to the French action."—*Archbishop Machray.*

the prairie." The Canadian Confederation was but two years old, and the French, even of Quebec, were anxiously testing out their provincial rights in the new Dominion. Neither the Roman Catholic clergy nor the primitive people beneath their control at the Red River could be expected to welcome Canadian domination "without safeguards." The *Métis*, suspicious and unenlightened, were easily moved to something more than passive resistance beneath the vainglorious leadership of Louis Riel—a resistance which on more than one occasion passed beyond control and finally degenerated into wanton arrogance and bloodshed. The brains of the movement, however, were not those of Louis Riel; and it would not be unjust perhaps either to the French *Métis* or to their guardians in all that was well-ordered and sustained in the Riel Insurrection, to regard the *Métis* as the secular arm of the Church at Red River.

The ultimate aims of the Roman Catholic clergy were undoubtedly more comprehensive than reserves of land for the *Métis*. Archbishop Taché, on his way to Rome in 1869, wrote bitterly to Sir George Cartier of the "ruin of that which has cost us so dear." "I have always feared," he wrote, "the entrance of the North-West into Confederation, because I have always believed that the French-Canadian element would be sacrificed; but I tell you frankly it had never occurred to me that our rights would be so quickly and so completely forgotten." [1] In Archbishop Taché's absence the French cause was left largely in the hands of the Rev. J. N. Ritchot of St. Norbert,[2] and it is not difficult to trace the influence of Père Ritchot's subtle and resourceful mind throughout the Insurrection itself and upon the negotiations culminating in provincial status under the Manitoba Act.

Neither Canada nor the Colonial Office, it would seem, had contemplated the immediate establishment of provincial institutions in Rupert's Land. Joseph Howe, then Secretary of State for the Provinces, instructed the Hon. William McDougall, as governor of the new territory, to promise a "liberal constitution" as soon as "the wants and requirements of the Territory" should be known. Howe visited Red River in person in October, 1869, and assured the inhabitants that "the same Constitution as the

[1] Dom. Benoit, *Vie de Mgr Taché*, vol. ii, p. 7.

[2] Père Ritchot had arrived from Canada in 1862. He had represented the diocese of St. Boniface at a council at Quebec as late as 1868.—Benoit, *Vie de Mgr Taché*, vol. i, pp. 478, 573.

other provinces possessed would ultimately be conferred upon the country."[1] Even the inhabitants at Red River were not at first in favour of provincial organization, and in fact decided against it upon the only occasion when they were formally consulted upon the matter. At the convention of both English-speaking and French that met at Fort Garry in February, 1870, to discuss with Donald Smith, afterwards Lord Strathcona, as Canadian Commissioner, the terms of union with Canada, Riel inquired "if the Canadian Government would consent to receive them as a Province," and Smith replied that "it had not been referred to when I was at Ottawa." Two "lists of rights" were drawn up by the committee for discussion before the convention, one upon the basis of territorial and the other of provincial status. When Riel's proposal for the discussion of the provincial terms was put to the vote (February 4, 1870), it was decidedly defeated,[2] and despite the vehement opposition of Riel and the French *Métis*, the Commissioner proceeded to discuss the terms of territorial status. The English-speaking population of Assiniboia long remained in ignorance of the influences which resulted in provincial status under the Manitoba Act.

These influences were undoubtedly French and Roman Catholic in origin, and their cogency is very easily understood. Special terms of union, safeguarding by statute the official use of the French language, separate schools, control of lands by the local legislature, etc., were much more enduring guarantees of French claims than the most explicit declaration of policy. When three delegates, in pursuance of Commissioner Smith's invitation, left for Ottawa in March, 1870, the "list of rights" drawn up upon the basis of provincial organization by the committee of the convention of February, 1870, but neither approved nor even discussed by the convention as a whole, was printed by Riel in French and dated "Maison du Gouvernment, Fort Garry, le 23 Mars, 1870." Under the erroneous impression, shared even by the Governor-General,[3] that this list formed the basis of negotiations for the Manitoba Act at Ottawa, it was printed in English in the British blue-book *Recent Disturbances in the Red River*

[1] *Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement*, 1870, p. 51.

[2] *New Nation*, Feb. 11, 1870.

[3] The Governor-General refers to this list as a "Copy of the terms and conditions brought by the Delegates from the North-West which have formed the subject of Conference."—Young to Granville, April 29, 1870.

Settlement, 1870.[1] In the first clause of this list the demand is formally advanced for the first time:

> 1. That the Territories, heretofore known as Rupert's Land and North-West, shall not enter into the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada, except as a Province, to be styled and known as the Province of Assiniboia, and with all the rights and privileges common to the different Provinces of the Dominion.

The Manitoba Bill was drawn up in Ottawa in consultation with the three delegates, the Rev. J. N. Ritchot, Judge Black, and Alfred Scott. The negotiations, however, in which Père Ritchot came to wield preponderating influence, were based upon a "list of rights" which would seem to establish the French origin of the Manitoba Act beyond reasonable doubt. The discussion at Ottawa was based neither upon the list which Commissioner Smith discussed before the convention in February, 1870, nor upon that which was drawn up at the same time for provincial status and thrown out by the convention without discussion. The Manitoba Act was based upon a secret "list of rights" (drawn up at Bishop's Palace, St. Boniface) which remained practically unknown to the English-speaking inhabitants of Manitoba for nineteen years, until it was published by Archbishop Taché at the height of the controversy over the "Manitoba School Question."[2] This list contained for the first time, for instance, the demand (the seventh in the list) which formed the basis of the famous school clause (section 22) of the Manitoba Act.[3] Indeed the Governor-General informed the Colonial Office by cable on April 11, 1870, *fifteen days before the opening of negotiations* at Ottawa between the Dominion Government and the three delegates from Red River, that "Bishop Taché, before leaving Ottawa, expressed himself quite satisfied with the terms accorded to himself and his church." It is reasonable to suppose that a general understanding had been reached at Ottawa upon the Archbishop's return from Rome. After his return to Red River the Insurrection was reduced, with some difficulty, to clerical control. "I saw myself

[1] *Recent Disturbances*, p. 130.

[2] Archbishop Taché's letters, *Winnipeg Free Press*, Dec. 27, 1889; *Weekly Free Press*, Jan. 16, 1890. "Sir Geo. Cartier told me how the Government of Ottawa was embarrassed and annoyed when the delegates refused to negotiate on the Bill of Rights prepared by the Convention." Cf. Rev. J. N. Ritchot to Archbishop Taché, Jan. 13, 1890: "That list was the only basis of our negotiations."—*Ibid.*

[3] "That the schools be separate and that the public money for schools be distributed among the different denominations in proportion to their respective population according to the system of the Province of Quebec."

the document [the secret list at Bishop's Palace] handed over to Rev. Mr. Ritchot and Judge Black," wrote Archbishop Taché at a later date, "by the officials of the Provisional Government." [1] It would seem to be unnecessary to inquire further into the origin of the Manitoba Act, and particularly of the sections which were so ruthlessly assailed during the political controversies of 1889-90.

One other section of the Manitoba Act would seem to require special notice. In the haste with which the measure was drafted and passed into law—only sixteen days intervened between the opening of negotiations on April 26 and the passing of the Act—it is obvious that mature consideration upon all points was out of the question. Upon one point, however, for reasons that will appear presently in the discussion of the statutory or legal difficulties of the transfer, there was no wavering of opinion on the part of the Dominion. By section 30 of the Manitoba Act it was provided that "all ungranted or waste lands in the Province shall be, from and after the said transfer, vested in the Crown, and administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion."

Now it is interesting to observe that upon no single question were the delegates so well-armed with mandates from the inhabitants at Red River as upon the question of the control of the public lands. No fewer than four "lists of rights" had been drawn up by various parties at various times during the transfer, and in each case the demand was formulated for local as distinct from federal control. This is true not merely of the "French" lists of December 1, 1869, February, 1870 (on the basis of provincial status) and the "secret list" of March, 1870, in which the demand is made (clause 11) "that the Local Legislature of this Province shall have full control over all the lands of the North-west." [2] It is conspicuously true of the list drawn up on the basis of territorial status in February, 1870, and discussed in detail before the Convention by Commissioner Smith. In this list the claim is advanced (clause 17) "that the Local Legislature of this Territory have full control of all the public land inside a circumference, having Upper Fort Garry as the centre; and that the radii of this circumference be the number of miles that the American line is distant from Fort Garry." Commissioner Smith replied in part that "full and substantial justice will be done in

[1] Letter of Mgr Taché, *Weekly Free Press*, Jan. 16, 1890.
[2] Letter of Mgr Taché, *Winnipeg Free Press*, Dec. 27, 1889.

the matter."[1] In the one "list of rights" to which the inhabitants at Red River as a whole can be said to have given their approval, the demand for the control of the public domain even under territorial status is thus made in the most explicit terms.

The opposition of the delegates at Ottawa to federal control of public lands, however, was speedily removed by the adroit offer of the Dominion government to grant 1,400,000 acres of land "for the benefit of the families of the half-breed residents."[2] There were practical considerations, to be noted presently, which made the policy of the Dominion almost inevitable. The fact remains, however, that in respect of public lands the Manitoba Act contravened every formal expression of opinion, both English-speaking and French, in every "list of rights" drawn up at Red River during the process of transfer. Both the British and Canadian authorities, moreover, refused to regard the Manitoba Act as "subject to confirmation by the 'Provisional Government'" since this "would have involved a recognition of Riel and his associates."[3] Manitoba was thus unique among the provinces of Canada in that many of the terms of union were imposed upon the inhabitants of the new province not only without their consent, but even without their knowledge.

The political difficulties of 1870 were thus surmounted only by mortgaging the future; and the foreclosure has been attended by political controversies many of which have not even yet been composed. Between the claims of the French party at Red River and the exactions of the Federal Government at Ottawa, it will be admitted that provincial rights have indeed "had a rough time of it." Many singular revenges of fortune have followed the "settlement" of 1870. The federal party which was responsible for it was driven from power in 1896 on the "Manitoba School Question," while with respect to the "Natural Resources Question" the prairie provinces are still awaiting a deliverer.

[1] *New Nation*, Feb. 11, 1870.

[2] 33 Vic., c. 3, s. 31. Cf. Archbishop Taché's letter, *Winnipeg Free Press*, Dec. 27, 1889: "To condone for this refusal (of the 'control of all the lands of the Northwest' by the Local Legislature) they gave to the children of the half-breed inhabitants of the country one million four hundred thousand acres of land, which had not been asked for, and with the understanding that by and by they would also give some lands to the parents of these children and to other old settlers."

[3] Letter of Sir Clinton Murdock, confidential representative of the British government, Apr. 28, 1870.

III. THE STATUTORY OR LEGAL DIFFICULTIES

The third series of difficulties was constitutional in the narrower sense of that word—in a sense so much narrower than the unwritten constitutional principles underlying the "British Colonial System" as a whole that these difficulties might perhaps be termed statutory or legal. They naturally followed the transfer of the political conflict from Red River to Ottawa for the framing of the Manitoba Act. They arose from the apparent necessity for immediate legislative action under circumstances which warranted the doubt as to whether that action was either advisable in itself or *intra vires* of the federal government. The advisability of immediate provincial organization was chiefly a political question and was determined, as already indicated, largely as a result of the Riel Insurrection. The constitutionality of the Manitoba Act was another matter, and the influences which determined—or failed to determine—this point centred naturally at Ottawa.

The controversy turned upon the nature and principles of the British North America Act of 1867; and the significant words of Lord Haldane in the recent *Manitoba Initiative and Referendum Case* (6 Geo. V., c. 59) before the Privy Council may be cited as one of the tersest authoritative pronouncements with regard to that great measure:

> The scheme of the Act passed in 1867 was thus, not to weld the Provinces into one, nor to subordinate Provincial Governments to a central authority, but to establish a Central Government in which these Provinces should be represented, entrusted with exclusive authority only in affairs in which they had a common interest. Subject to this each Province was to retain its independence and autonomy, and to be directly under the Crown as its head. Within these limits. . .its local Legislature, so long as the Imperial Parliament did not repeal its own Act conferring this status, was to be supreme.[1]

Now by the B.N.A. Act of 1867, section 146, the statutory authority for the admission of "Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, or either of them, into the Union" is defined as being "subject to the provisions of this Act," namely, with the provinces in certain respects (such as the control of public lands, for instance) enjoying "supreme" powers "directly under the Crown." Sir

[1] *Law Journal Reports*, Nov. 1919, p. 145.

John A. Macdonald, in a memorandum for the Canadian Privy Council, December 29, 1870, conceded that "even if the terms of the Address (specified in the B.N.A. Act, 1867, section 146) had included a new constitution for the North-West it must, under the above cited section, have been subject to the provisions of the Imperial Act of Union."[1] The right, therefore, of the federal government alone to legislate for the creation of a new province, with provincial disabilities in certain fundamental respects at complete variance with the principles of the B.N.A. Act of 1867, was questioned from the first in several very important particulars. The right of "giving a constitution to a portion of Rupert's Land," permitting the free exercise of responsible government, seems to have passed without question; but during the discussion of the legal aspects of the Manitoba Bill before the House of Commons in May, 1870, it seems to have been generally agreed that "especially those of its provisions which gave the right to the Province to have Representatives in the Senate and House of Commons of the Dominion" were technically at least *ultra vires* of the federal government, even though no new principles had been introduced in that respect into the general scheme of Confederation.

In several other respects, however, the Manitoba Act had departed very radically from the recognized principles of the B.N.A. Act of 1867, and was far from being "subject to the provisions of this Act." It has been held, for instance, by eminent constitutionalists both then and since, that section 30 of the Manitoba Act providing for the administration of public lands "by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion" violated one of the most important of all the provisions of the B.N.A. Act of 1867, section 109, safeguarding for all the provinces of Canada without exception the full beneficial control of the public lands within their boundaries. There is a sense, indeed, in which this feature of the B.N.A. Act of 1867 was not only important, but fundamental. The control of "clergy reserves" and crown lands by the province of Upper Canada had formed one of the chief incentives and no small part of the practical results of the conflict for responsible government, and it was responsible government which made possible a voluntary federation of self-governing provinces aspiring to the destiny of a transcontinental Dominion.

[1] *Can. Sessional Papers*, 1871, Vol. 5, Paper No. 20.

Throughout the voluminous discussions, therefore, of the legal or statutory aspect of the question ever since the time of Confederation there has been a succession of eminent constitutionalists —from Edward Blake, the law officers of the Crown in Great Britain, and Sir Oliver Mowat to Chief Justice Haultain and Sir Robert Borden—who have upheld the inherent and fundamental rights of provinces in this respect under the original principles of the B.N.A. Act of 1867. During the discussion of the Alberta and Saskatchewan Acts in 1905 it was stated that the Manitoba Act was "*ultra vires*—was so considered by the legal advisers of the Crown in England, and in order to make it valid it was necessary to pass the Imperial Act of 1871." [1] Indeed one of the most vigorous protagonists of provincial rights in respect of public lands[2] is content to base the cause of the prairie provinces upon the purely legal aspects of the case.

It is evident at any rate that the constitutional principles embodied in the B.N.A, Act of 1867 were having a "rough time of it" in the process of meeting what were considered to be the political requirements at Red River in 1870. There were other practical considerations which further complicated the legal difficulties, for beyond a doubt Canadian statesmen had already set their minds upon two or three great constructive national projects, and were determined to allow no abstract constitutional principles to stand in their way.

[1] "There was a very strong opinion in England and also here—I believe it was shared by Mr. Blake—that we had no right . . .

"The interpretation given by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upon section 109 . . . has always been favourable to the provinces, and has gone very far in the direction of maintaining that all public lands . . . once the province is created fell under provincial control. . . .

"By common understanding of section 109 and the interpretation put upon that section since our constitutional questions have arisen, it would seem to be evident that public lands, by the very terms of the constitution, belonged to the provinces the moment they entered confederation, and I see no reason for departing from that rule in regard to the province created out of a portion of the North-West Territories."—Hon. Mr. Monk, *Hansard*, 1905, pp. 3072 *et seq*.

[2] Mr. Bram Thompson. See *Canada's Suzerainty over the West*, reprinted from the *Canadian Law Times* of August and September, 1919. Mr. Thompson contends that the Privy Council would find the sections in the Alberta and Saskatchewan Acts providing for federal administration of public lands *ultra vires* of the federal government, and that even section 30 of the Manitoba Act, despite the validation of that measure by the B.N.A. Act of 1871 "for all purposes whatsoever", could be declared *ultra vires* by reason of conflict with the fundamental principles of the B.N.A. Act of 1867.

The very conditions of the surrender of Hudson's Bay chartered rights in Rupert's Land to the Crown, and particularly the reservation of the "one-twentieth part" of each township "within the Fertile Belt" for the Company, necessitated a measure of federal control. It is clear that no regard for "provincial rights" in Manitoba was to be allowed to complicate the obligations of the Dominion to the Hudson's Bay Company. Sir John A. Macdonald, in fact, did not hesitate to avow the intention of obtaining from the lands of the West "repayment of the disbursement of the £300,000," despite the fact that this sum was raised by public loan, to be paid off only in 1904 by all the provinces of Canada, Manitoba included[1]: "The expense would be defrayed by that means instead of being charged against the people of the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. That could be done, however, only by carrying out that policy of keeping the control of the lands of the country, and . . . they had determined to do so." [2]

A second practical consideration was the need of rapid immigration and the fear that the new province, then preponderantly French and *Métis*, would obstruct this policy if granted full control of the public lands. "The land could not be handed over to them . . . It would be injudicious to have a large Province which . . . might interfere with the general policy of the Government . . . Besides the land legislation of the Province might be obstructive to immigration." [3]

And finally the great project of a transcontinental railway was already beginning to engross the attention of the federal government. There can be no doubt that this was very prominently in mind at the time of the transfer. At the Convention of February, 1870, when Commissioner Smith was asked to reply to the demand for "full control of all the public land" for the "Local Legislature" he qualified his reply that "full and substantial justice will be done" by pleading ignorance "of the country and of the extent to which this concession might affect public works, etc." [4]

[1] *Statement of Proceedings taken by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to give effect to the Guarantee of a loan for the £300,000 authorised by the Act 32 & 33 Vic., c. 101.* June 28, 1870. Cf. also *Can. Sessional Papers*, 1880, Vol. X, Paper No. 75 and Chester Martin, "*The Natural Resources Question*", p. 35.

[2] *Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement*, 1870, pp. 132, 143, 146, etc.

[3] Sir John A. Macdonald on the *Manitoba Bill.*

[4] *The New Nation*, Feb. 11, 1870.

Sir John A. Macdonald, at the debate on the Manitoba Bill, declared frankly that "the land could not be handed over to them; it was of the greatest importance to the Dominion to have possession of it, for the Pacific Railway must be built by means of the land through which it had to pass." Sir George Cartier stated this view even more bluntly when he announced that the public lands of the West "had been given up for nothing": "It must be in the contemplation of the Members of the House that these could be used for the construction of the British Pacific Railway." [1]

As late as 1884, the Canadian Privy Council enunciated the policy with regard to the Canadian Pacific Railway that "the expenditure in construction and in cash subsidy may be regarded as an advance, to be repaid from the lands." [2]

For all these reasons, therefore, legal and otherwise, it was determined to apply for Imperial validation for the Manitoba Act "as if it had been an Imperial statute." The memorandum to the Canadian Privy Council was drawn up by Sir John A. Macdonald,[3] and though the draft bill underwent several very significant changes before it eventually passed the Imperial Parliament, the Manitoba Act was eventually confirmed "for all purposes whatsoever" by the British North America Act of 1871. It is interesting to note that the suggestion in the draft bill (section 6) that "any Act of the said Parliament hereafter establishing a Province as aforesaid shall have effect as if it had been enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" *does not appear in the final Act*, and the omission would seem to be very significant in its bearings upon the Alberta and Saskatchewan Acts of 1905. Otherwise, however, the B.N.A. Act of 1871 seems to have been devised as a complete and perfunctory *carte blanche* for the irregularities attending the transfer. It thus came to pass that the administration of the public lands of Manitoba "by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion," devised by Canada not only without the consent or knowledge of the inhabitants of the new province, but in defiance of every expression of opinion, both English-speaking and French, in every "list of rights" drawn up during the transfer, was validated by

[1] *Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement*, 1870, p. 139.
[2] *Can. Sessional Papers*, 1885, Vol. 12, Paper No. 61.
[3] *Can. Sessional Papers*, 1871, Vol. 5, Paper No. 20.

Imperial enactment drafted at Ottawa "for all purposes whatsoever."

A comparison of the three series of difficulties outlined above would afford an alluring opportunity for speculations which cannot be indulged here. Of the three, the constitutional difficulty at the beginning—apparently the most formidable at the time—was surmounted in fact with the least violence to good sense and normal British constitutional procedure. The mischief which has arisen with regard to it has arisen not from the facts of the case nor from the principles observed in the transfer, but from loose and conveniently specious fictions since employed to justify a course of action already determined upon for other reasons. The second series of difficulties, culminating in one of the most inglorious political episodes of Canadian history, has had even more pernicious practical results. The events of 1869-70 have sown Manitoban and even Canadian history with dragons' teeth yielding ever since a truly prolific harvest of racial and religious controversy.

There is a sense in which the solution sought for the third series of difficulties has been equally far-reaching in its ultimate results, for as already suggested, the B.N.A. Act of 1871 has been held to have changed, upon the statute books at least, not only the amplitude but the very nature of the Canadian Confederation. By the original B.N.A. Act of 1867 the Dominion of Canada was a federation of equals, each province being "supreme" in certain respects, "directly under the Crown as its head." By the B.N.A. of 1871 (validating "for all purposes whatsoever" the Manitoba Act and the Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada), the Dominion of Canada was transformed from a federation of equals into an Empire. Manitoba, a province in name, was debased to "colonial" status ("for the purposes of the Dominion") in one at least of the essentials of provincial self-government. The territories beyond were placed beneath the imperial control of the Canadian parliament, with an organization of executive government almost as primitive as that of Canada under the Quebec Act of 1774. It was not until 1875 that the North-West Territories Act provided a constitution for the North-West Territories similar to that embodied in the Constitutional Act of 1791. It was not until 1888 and 1894 that the principles and practice of responsible government began to appear; and even with the

advent of autonomy and (in name) provincial status in 1905, the imperial parliament of Canada took the responsibility of withholding the firstfruits of that responsible government in the determination to retain the control of the natural resources of the prairie provinces (as provided in the Alberta and Saskatchewan Acts of the federal parliament) "for the purposes of Canada." If the B.N.A Act of 1871 has indeed authorized, in the words of Lord Halsbury, this "utmost discretion of enactment," it has made it necessary for the prairie provinces to contend for some of the primitive rights of self-government to which Upper Canada aspired three generations ago in the contest for responsible government.

One other reflection may not be out of place in conclusion. The rectification of these irregularities would seem to require an Imperial Act to amend the B.N.A. Act of 1871.[1] In view of this fact, the recent proposal to secure, for the Dominion, powers to amend the B.N.A. Acts, "with the consent of the Provincial Legislatures," bears an unfortunate resemblance to the abortive proposal in the draft bill of 1871 to endow the federal parliament with powers of legislation for new provinces "as if it had been enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." The acquiescence of the three "colonial" provinces is scarcely to be expected without the equitable removal *first* of provincial disabilities imposed in 1870, 1871, and 1905.[2] In fact, it would seem to be in order to complete Confederation within by restoring the just and original principles of 1867 as a *sine qua non* of consummation without by the assumption of complete autonomy among the autonomous nations of the British Empire.

CHESTER MARTIN

[1] This would seem to be true even with regard to Alberta and Saskatchewan by the terms of the B.N.A. Act of 1871, section 6; though Sir Robert Borden would seem to regard a federal Act "with the consent of the Provincial legislature" as sufficient.—*Hansard*, 1905, p. 1466.

[2] "Any other course would seem (*pace* the attitude of the other provinces at the Conference of November, 1918) to invite the postponement of the settlement of the 'Natural Resources Question' for this province to the Greek Calends." See Chester Martin, "*Natural Resources Question*", pp. 108, note; 112; 113, etc.

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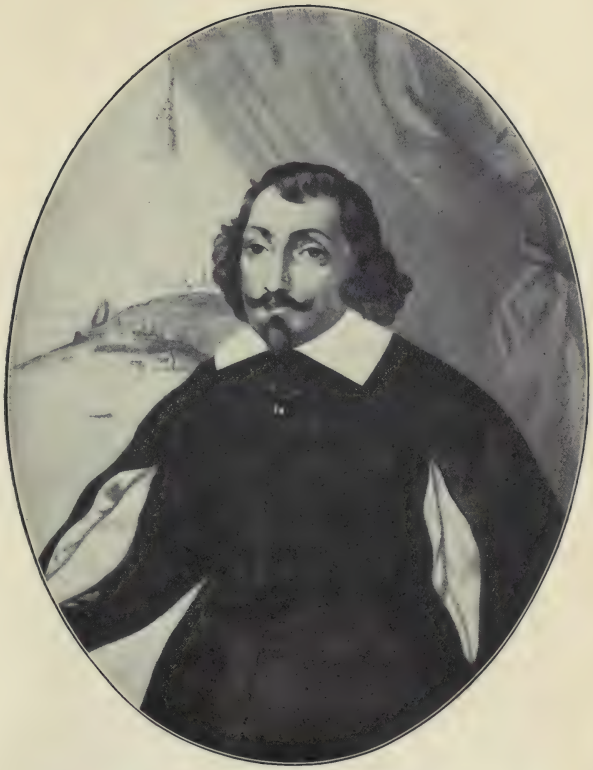

PLATE I.—DUCORNET'S ALLEGED PORTRAIT OF CHAMPLAIN

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PLATE II.—FRONTISPIECE TO THE LAVERDIÈRE EDITION OF CHAMPLAIN'S WORKS

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PLATE III.—MONCORNET'S PORTRAIT OF MICHEL PARTICELLI

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE PORTRAIT OF CHAMPLAIN

In 1904 Mr. Victor Paltsits published in the journal *Acadiensis* (vol. iv, pp. 306-311) a paper entitled *A Critical Examination of Champlain's Portrait.* The conclusions to which he came in this paper were as follows:

> It has been shown that there is a good lithographed portrait of Champlain, designed by Ducornet, presumably in 1854; that Hamel painted a portrait, which is an adaptation from a print; that Shea for the first time published a bust portrait, engraved from Hamel's painting in 1866, and called it a copy after Moncornet; that Laverdière introduced a sketch, within an oval, in 1870, which shows clearly that it was taken from the Ducornet lithograph; that Ronjat made a sketch for Guizot's work, published in 1876, which he says was copied from a Moncornet engraving in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, but which does not exist in that institution; and that Miss Hurlburt's painting was copied from Slafter's first volume. In addition to the evidence presented above, we show also reproductions of five of the portraits alluded to. We believe that this evidence demonstrates overwhelmingly that no Moncornet portrait exists, but that all these portraits are derived from a lithograph by Ducornet, made in modern times. Hence, as no authentic portrait of Champlain, of contemporary origin, is known, the use of this picture, in any of its various forms, as a real portrait, should no longer persist in historical publications. But one thing can alter this conclusion—the discovery of a real Moncornet portrait of Champlain.

An examination of the collection of Moncornet portraits in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris by the writer has confirmed Mr. Paltsits' conclusion, but has resulted in the discovery of a portrait by Moncornet which would seem to have been used by Ducornet in 1854 for the composition of his lithograph portrait of Champlain.

First a word as to Ducornet's life. According to Mr. Paltsits, (*op. cit.*, p. 307), "Louis César Joseph Ducornet was born at Lille, January 10, 1806, and died at Paris, April 27, 1856. He was deformed from birth, having neither arms nor thighs and but four toes to his right foot; but in spite of this deformity learned to paint creditable pictures with this foot. He was a pupil of Watteau, Guillon-Lethière and Gérard; won medals for his work, and finally received a Government pension. He painted many portraits."

Among Ducornet's portraits was one of "Samuel de Champlain, Gouverneur Général du Canada (N^elle^ France): Né à Brouage en 1567: Fonde Québec en 1608 et meurt dans cette ville en 1635." This was issued as a lithograph at Paris in 1854 by Massard, 53, Rue de Seine, and printed by Villain, 19, Rue de Sèvres. It was also "enrigistré conformément à l'Acte de la Legislature Provinciale, en l'année mil-huit-cent cinquante-quatre par P. L. Morin de Québec, dans le Bureau du Registrateur."

This lithographed portrait of Champlain from the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris is reproduced herewith (see Plate I).

Directly beneath the oval in the portrait are printed the words: "Ducornet Ex. c. p." In the reproduction of this portrait as a frontispiece to the Laverdière edition of the works of Champlain (Quebec, 1870), where the portrait is reversed, these words have been altered to: "Moncornet Ex. c.p.", as will be seen by reference to Plate II.

Moncornet, as stated by Mr. Paltsits, never did a portrait of Champlain, so far at least as anyone can discover; but Moncornet's portrait of Michel Particelli, Controlleur-Général des Finances, engraved in 1654, would seem to have been used by Ducornet in 1854 in the composition of his Champlain lithograph. If Ducornet did not use this portrait, its resemblance to his Champlain is, to say the least, most striking (see Plate III).

In conclusion one can only repeat what Mr. Victor Paltsits has already stated, that "no authentic portrait of Champlain, of contemporary origin, is known." The present representative of this family in France has at any rate never heard of any other portrait than Ducornet's lithograph, and this, as the reader has seen, reproduces the features of a totally different personage.

H. P. BIGGAR

WALTER BUTLER'S JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION ALONG THE NORTH SHORE OF LAKE ONTARIO, 1779.[1]

Walter N. Butler was the son of Colonel John Butler, commander of Butler's Rangers, the Loyalist corps which so distinguished itself in the border warfare of the American Revolution.[2] He accompanied his father and Guy Johnson in their flight from the Mohawk Valley in the summer of 1775, and served with some distinction in the defense of Canada against the American invasion of that autumn. John Butler, who was an officer of the Indian Department, became acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs when Guy Johnson sailed for England in November, 1775. Governor Carleton, compelled to abandon the greater part of Canada to the Americans and retire to the fortress of Quebec, sent Butler to Niagara. There he remained throughout the following year, working hard to hold the Indians in allegiance to the Crown and to collect loyalist recruits from the western settlements of New York. His wife and the other members of his family, except Walter, had remained at their home at Johnstown. In the spring or summer of 1776, they were removed to Albany by the revolutionary party and detained as hostages.

In 1777 the elder Butler brought a large number of Indians and Loyalists to assist in an expedition under Colonel St. Leger against Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N.Y.), an expedition which served as a support to Burgoyne's contemporary invasion of New York state. Walter Butler was sent on to the German Flats, in the upper Mohawk Valley, to raise recruits for the royal service. Here he was captured, court-martialed, and sentenced to death as a spy. His life was spared—at the instance, it is said, of certain American officers who had known him when he was a law student in Albany—but he was placed in rigorous confinement in that town. Because of the injury to his health some friends of his family obtained, in the following year, his transfer to a private house. Thence he escaped, and rejoined his father, who was now leading his newly organized battalion of Rangers against the border settlements of New York and Pennsylvania. Walter was given the rank of

[1] British Museum, Addit. MSS. 21,765. Transcript in the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa, B. 105, pp. 100-112.

[2] Regarding Colonel Butler and the Rangers, see the careful study by Ernest Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara* (Lundy's Lane Historical Society: Welland, 1893).

captain and the command of one of the companies, but did not immediately take up duties in the field. He was sent to Quebec, and consequently was absent from the stirring events of the earlier part of the campaign of 1778, including the destruction of the settlements in the Wyoming valley, popularly known as "the Massacre of Wyoming."

Late in August Captain Walter Butler rejoined his corps on the borders of New York. His father had been compelled by ill health to return to Niagara, and the son took command of the Rangers. His most important undertaking was an expedition against Cherry Valley, which was surprised on the morning of November 11. The attack on the fort failed, but the settlement was completely destroyed. Unfortunately, the Indians, who formed a large part of the expedition, broke from all restraint and massacred many of the inhabitants. The survivors became prisoners.

Before beginning his retreat Butler released the greater part of the women and children and gave them a letter[1] to General Schuyler, whom he believed to be in command of the Continental forces in the Northern department. In consideration, he requested that an equal number of prisoners on the other side, including his mother and her family, should be released, but offered, if this were not acceptable, to effect an exchange from the prisoners whom he still held. An answer, dated Albany, Jan. 2, 1779, was written by Brigadier-General James Clinton, at the command of Governor Clinton of New York.[2] The proposal of an exchange was accepted, and a further communication as to the method of carrying it out requested. Walter Butler replied from Niagara on February 18, acknowledging Clinton's letter:

> It's Contents I communicated to Lieut Col Bolton the Commanding Officer of this Garrison &c, by whom I am directed to acquaint you that he has no objection an Exchange of Prisoners as mentioned in your letter, should take place; but not being fully empower'd by His Excellency Genl. Haldimand, to order the same immediately to be put in execution, has thought proper I should go down to the Commander in Chief, for his direction in the matter.
>
> In the mean time Colonel Butler (as he has ever done on every occasion) will make every effort in his Power to have all the Prisoners, as well those belonging to Your Troops as the Women & Children in captivity among the different Indian Nations collected, and sent

[1] Public Archives, B. 105, pp. 83-84. Published in W. L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant* (New York, 1838), vol. I. pp. 377-378.

[2] Public Archives, B. 105, pp. 87-89; *Life of Brant*, vol. I, pp. 382-383.

into this Post, to be forwarded to Crown Point, should the Exchange take place by the way of Canada, or to Oswego, if settled there; in either case, Col Bolton desires me to inform you, that the Prisoners shall receive from him what assistance their wants may require— Which Prisoners have at all times received at this Post.

The disagreeable situation of your People in the Indian Villages, as well ours among you, will induce me to make all the expedition in my power to Canada, in order that the Exchange may be settled as soon as possible, for the good of both—

I make no doubt His Excellency Genl. Haldimand will acquiesce, in the propos'd Exchange— The Season of the Year renders it impossible to take place before the 10th or 15th of May next—however I shall write you by the way of Crown Point General Haldimand's determination, and when and where the Exchange would be the most agreeable to him, to be made— I could wish Mrs Butler & family including Mrs. Sheehan & Son and Mrs Wall were permitted to go to Canada in the Spring even should the exchange be fix'd at Ontario.[1]

Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton forwarded the whole correspondence to General Haldimand in a despatch which Captain Butler carried to Quebec:

Niagara
March the 5th 1779.

Sir

I beg leave to inform Your Excellency that an Indian arrived here some days ago with Letters to Captain Butler, which had been opened & read in every village through which he passed by desire of the chiefs, he acquaints me they were brought to Coneserago by a Colonel Campbell in the Provincial service who told him he came with a flag but his Interpreter being lame prevented him from going to Niagara & that he would remain there until an answer arrived. As I understand they wish to get back some of their prisoners taken at Cherry Valley & have offered to exchange Mrs Butler & family I consented (at the Major's[2] earnest request) to Captain Butlers going to Canada in order to lay before Your Excellency the Letters sent here, as well as a copy of his answer to the one he received here from a Brigadier Clinton. The Major also assures me the chiefs will not suffer any Letter or papers whatever to pass through their villages without first knowing the contents. It appears to me they

[1] Public Archives, B. 105, pp. 95-99; published in full in *Life of Brant*, vol. I, pp. 384-386.

[2] John Butler, who held the rank of major.

have got some prisoners that the enemy has a much greater esteem for than any of those formerly taken, otherwise they would not have offered to grant with Mrs Butler & family, as the officer who brought the flag intended to remain at Caneserago, untill he received an answer. I agreed to Capt Butler writing to Brigadier Clinton, as I wish to remove Mrs Campbell as soon as possible out of the Indian country, & have sent those we can depend on to find out if he did not come upon some other business as well as an exchange of prisoners which I hope Your Excellency will have no objection to & that it will take place by the way of Canada.

For further particulars I beg leave to refer you to Capt Butler who has assured me he would not make any unnecessary delay & I have no reason to doubt it, for upon all occasions he seems to be extremely anxious to be employed, & has taken great pains with the Rangers during the winter to prepare them for service early in the spring, Major Butler also assures me the Indians will be ready at that time & therefore hopes you will honor him with your further orders & directions as soon as possible. I should also be happy to receive Your Excellency's instruction relative to the upper Posts at the same time, as your letters meet with so frequent delays between La Chine & this place, which may be attended with bad consequences, especially in the critical situation we are now in Capt Mathews has finished the block house at the Upper Landing which will be inclosed with Pickets in order to protect the Merchants goods, & Mr Stedman is building a large store House to lodge them in which will be intirely covered (in case a party of the enemy should come that way) by the fire from the Block house We are also employed in cutting log-houses agreable to Your Excellency's orders & in hopes a reinforcement will be sent up early in the spring

In a former Letter I acquainted you that I should consult every person here who cou'd give me any information conserning the plan of Agriculture[1] you proposed some time ago, & now beg leave to inclose their opignons

I have the honor &c

(*Signed*) MASON BOLTON

P S

We have not at this time a single good musket flint in the Garrison An other inconsiderable party with David (the Mohawk) is gone by water to observe Genl McIntosh's motions

[1] A proposal by Haldimand that a permanent settlement should be established at Niagara. See Cruikshank, *op. cit.*

Capn Butler takes down with him the Muster rolls of the Corps of Rangers & also the accounts, of what the New Baracks & Log Houses amounts to.[1]

Butler set out from Niagara on March 8, and followed the north shore of Lake Ontario, doubtless for greater security. His mission to Haldimand was successful, as is indicated by the following letter:

Sir

Agreeable to my Letter directed to you of the 18th of February last, I were to acquaint you of His Excellency Genl. Halidmands determination on the proposed exchange of Prisoners—I am so happy as to have His Excellency's Directions to inform you of his assent thereto, and that the same may take place by the way of Crown Point on the—— day of May next—likewise that Lieut. Col Stacy and others Your officers and Soldiers, in our Hands, will be given in exchange for an equal number of ours with you. Among which the officers and Rangers mentioned in the List enclosed you, in my last, are to be included, the Commander in Chief has ordered all the Prisoners, as well those belonging to Your Troops, As Inhabitants, or Families &ca—At Niagara, or elsewhere immediately to Canada for the above purpose. I have by this opportunity wrote Mrs. Butler & transmitted her some money, in order to enable her and Family to come to Canada, which please permit to be delivered to her, if the Season will admit, It will oblige me and particularly the younger part of the Family, their being allow'd to come immediately to Canada, as the Children are to go to England in the first ships.

I am
Sir
Your most obedt. and very Hble Servant
(*Signed*) WALTER BUTLER
Capn. Corps of Rangers[2]

Brigadier General Clinton
Continental Forces
Albany.

Walter Butler returned to Niagara in the spring of 1779. He continued active in the frontier struggle until almost the end of the Revolutionary war, losing his life in the last important raid made by the British on the New York settlements. This was led

[1] Public Archives, B. 96-1, pp. 251-253.

[2] Public Archives, B. 105, pp. 427-428. Lists of the prisoners to be exchanged are also to be found here.

by a Major Ross, under whom Captain Butler commanded the Rangers, and was remarkably successful. In their retreat the British were closely pursued and in a slight skirmish on the banks of Canada Creek, which flows into the Mohawk, Walter Butler was killed, October 30, 1781.

The journal here published has interest because it is one of the few descriptions of the Canadian shore of Lake Ontario in the era just preceding the beginning of settlement in Upper Canada. The southern shore of the lake was at this time much more frequented and much better known. The journal seems to have been based on rough notes made during the trip, and to have been written in its present form at the request of General Haldimand after the arrival of Butler in Quebec in April, 1779.

[*Transcript.*]

Niagara 8th March 1779.

Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, Set off for Canada in a Batteau—The Weather Calm, the Season very forward And More than Common fine, no Appearance of Snow, Ice, or Frost. Rowed to the 12 Mile Pond.[1] Encamped—Saw this Evening a large flock of Pidgeons in trees, and number of Geese & Ducks in the Pond—

12 Mile Pond March 9th. At Six put off, the Wind & Swell high and ahead, but the hands being good Oarsmen Kept the Lake till the 20 Mile Pond, or River,[2] When the Wind increasing & no Harbour nearer than 40 Mile Creek, made for the Creek and was near striking on the Barr, but the force of the Waves on the Stern and working briskly of the Oars, got into the River An Indian Cabin on the Banck Inhabited by Messessaugoes, the 20 Mile Creek is a fine Stream, tho' shallow at the Entrance, and Narrow at the Mouth, but very wide a little way up—the Lands in General Level, tho' higher on the East side—Timber, oak, Pine & a few Chesnut Trees, the place Appears as the head of the Lake tho' it runs for forty miles Westerly beyond this, before the Lake turns to the North Eastward, this Creek heads near Point O'Bino[3] 18 Miles above Fort Earie, on Lake Erie, likewise the 12 & 16 Miles Creek rise out of the

[1] More usually, "Twelve Mile Creek";—the creek on which St. Catharines was subsequently built. These designations indicated the distances from Niagara.

[2] Now Jordan Harbour. "Twenty Mile Creek" flows through "Twenty Mile Pond" before emptying into Lake Ontario. Jordan is situated three miles from the mouth. Views of "Twenty Mile Creek" as it appeared in 1794 and 1796, reproduced from drawings by the wife of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, are published in John Ross Robertson (ed.), *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, 1911), pp. 225, 312.

[3] Point Abino. Butler is, of course, wrong in his opinion as to the place of origin of these creeks.

Swamps near Lake Erie—Boats Can go up this Creek About 15 Miles—Saw a number of Black Birds—3 o'Clock put off—the wind falling, rowed till four—hoisted sail & continued till six—rowed till seven o'Clock, put in shore and Encamped—on a low Sandy Beach,[1] five miles from the Creek in this Bay forming the head of the Lake, hauled the Boat up—the distance from the Sd Creek to Niagara 60 miles.

10th of March—Put off at Daylight, Every Appearance of a fair wind, rowed an hour, the wind came ahead, increased with a high swell, was obliged to put into the River at the head of the Lake,[2] Shipped Water twice before we made the River—the wind at East—from the West side the 20 Mile Creek the land lowers, till you come twelve Miles off this, where it forms a fine sandy Beach, with a few Trees near the shore—which Continues a mile beyond this River, where the shore turns and runs about North East, from whence it's a broken shore, with a Banck of Seven or Eight feet & no landing with Boats for Ten Miles, in windy weather a Boat may go up this River[3] Ten or thirteen Miles, from whence there is a Carrying Place of thirteen Miles to the River Trance,[4] which falls into the Lake of St Clair, After you enter this River about 400 yards, it forms a Lake or Pond[5] of 4 miles over and six long, between it & the Lake is a narrow neck of Land of 400 yards wide cover'd with a few Trees, & reedy Grass, on this the Indians hut in the Fishing Season—this Pond in the Season has great number of all sorts of Water Fowl—round this Lake or Pond a quantity of Hay might be made—this morning about 7, the weather being clear & little or no wind, we saw the Spray or Mist of the Fall of Niagara bearing from this about South East—A Canoe with Messessaugoes Came to us, gave me Ducks, in return gave them Powder & Shot & Bread, they being out of Ammunition—I learn'd from them that Joseph Brant had left his Boat here and took two Canoes Eleven days ago—[6]

[1] Probably at or near Hamilton Beach.

[2] The original channel connecting Burlington Bay with Lake Ontario. Drawings by Mrs. Simcoe illustrating this locality in 1796 are published in *The Diary of Mrs. Simcoe*, pp. 304, 316-331.

[3] Now the Desjardins Canal and Linden Creek. The immediate goal of the portage here was the Grand River—leading to Lake Erie—rather than the Thames, which was much more remote. The Sulpicians Dollier de Casson and Galinée followed this route to Lake Erie as early as 1669. See Galinée's *Narrative* (*Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society*, vol. IV., 1903).

[4] La Tranche, now the Thames.

[5] Burlington Bay. Butler regarded the channel from Lake Ontario and what are now Burlington Bay, the Desjardins Canal, and Linden Creek, as constituting one river.

[6] Brant was on his way to Quebec. He carried a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton, commanding at Niagara, to General Haldimand, of date February 12 (Public Archives of Canada, B. 96-1, p. 247).

Head of the Lake 11th of March—

Got up at Daylight, wind still Ahead & too hard to put out, amused ourselves shooting Ducks & Black-Birds, set in raining at Ten this Morning, an hour before Sun-set A Thunder burst, with Lightning and a heavy rain, a Thick Fog & Calm, tho' still a high Swell, set off a little before Sun set, half an hour out, fog clear'd of with a hard North West wind, very Squaly, could not sail, row'd till Eight o'Clock, the swell and wind to high to go any further this night, put into the twelve Mile Creek,[1] with much difficulty got into the Creek, obliged to drag up the Boat, water sufficient but a Fall in the Mouth of the Creek 10 o'Clock at night before we could Kindle a Fire, the ground and wood wet, Encamped on a bare Point—the wind blew down our Tent—up this Creek a Saw Mill Might be erected having fine Rapids and good Timber for Boards. this Creek in the Fall is fill'd with Salmon, as all other the large runs of water are in the Fall Season, from Niagara to this the Lake in general shallow near Shore tho' good Anchoring Ground off in the Lake.

12th of March—Set off at Seven o'Clock this Morning the wind at N-W too much off Land to sail, row'd till 11 o'Clock, Put into the River called Du Credit [2] 17 miles from our last station, the shore in general good for Boats to Land, the Sand low and a good Beach, except the Points which are Bluff, two Messessaugoes came to me & informed me a number of them lived up this River, gave them Bread, put off at 12, row'd to the Bottom of the Bay[3] Above Toronto, hoisted sail, found the wind too high to go round Long Point[4] forming the Basin or Bay,[5] below Toronto,[6] Continuing sailing down the Bay to the Carrying Place,[7] unloaded the Boat, Hauled her over and Loaded again in an hour and a half, row'd from this to the beginning of the high Lands,[8] Encamp'd on the Beach & Secured the Boat—Toronto was built on a level Spot of Ground nearly opposite a long narrow neck or Point of Land running 7 or 8 miles into the Lake which forms a noble Bay of nine Miles deep, two or three Miles from the bottom of which on the N side, Ships can

[1] On the north side of Lake Ontario the creeks were distinguished by their distance from Burlington. "Twelve Mile Creek" flows into the Lake at Bronte in Halton County.

[2] There is a sketch of the River Credit in 1796 in *The Diary of Mrs. Simcoe*, p. 328.

[3] Humber Bay.

[4] Now the Island.

[5] Toronto Harbour.

[6] That is, the site of the old French fort, on a point running out from the present Exhibition Grounds.

[7] The sandy beach, then and until long afterwards unbroken, which connected what is now the Island with the mainland.

[8] Scarborough Bluffs.

ride in safety, it's strange the French Built the Fort where they did, and not where their Shipping were wont to Lay, which was a few Miles below the Fort, down the Bay—The Bay of Toronto was filled with All sorts of Wild Fowl, saw on the North side of the Bay several Wigwams & Canoes turned up on the shore, the Land about Toronto Appears very good for Cultivation, from Toronto to River du Credit it's twelve Miles Across the Bays but better than twenty along shore—which is the way Boats must take, Except the weather is very calm, or a light Breeze in your favour—from Toronto to the beginning of the high Lands is about nine or ten Miles down the Basin, but nearly double round the Point. 13th of March—Got off at Daylight, the wind from the Land, could not sail, rowed till twelve, pass'd the high Lands And a small Bay—put into Pine Wood Creek—here one Duffin a Trader resided formly, since which a Frenchman has wintered here,[1] he was off a little before we came, two houses a little up the Creek, the one Entire, the other strip'd, this Creek famous with the Indians for great Quantities of fish, the distance from this to the other end of the Highlands is about 20 Miles, 15 of which, is few, or no places, where a Boat could be saved in case of a Storm off the Lake, the Banck very high and steep, being a mixture of Clay and Chalk, nearly as hard as Free Stone, it forms a Romantic wild view—in Many places appearing like Towers in Ruin, the remains of Houses and relics of Chimnies &c, from the Lake you would take it for a large Town built of Stone partly demolish'd, put off at one o'Clock, rowed till three, the wind fair, sailed till four, rowed till dark, no wind, put in shore in a deep Bay, where we found a fine Creek, it's water as clear as Crystal, Encamp'd a little up the Creek—in this Bay—I Believe Vessels might ride with safety from the N.E and N.W winds, but not from the SE or SW. the distance from this to the Pine Wood Creek is about 30 miles, the Lake all along forming small Bays, in which you have a good Beach where Boats may be secure in case of a Storm—

14th March—Set off at Daylight, rowed till twelve, the swell increasing with the wind ahead at East put into a Creek called by the Indians *Pamitiescotiyank*.[2] (the fat fire) the distance from our Encampment 15 Miles, at this Creek and two others nearly of the same name, the Indians in the Fishing Season resides, all those three Creeks head near A Lake of about 30 Miles long, distant from this 50 miles, where the Messessaugoes

[1] The stream at Pickering is still known as Duffin's Creek, and Pickering Harbou also bore the name Frenchman's Bay.

[2] This and the preceding stopping place have not been identified. Butler's estimates of distances are not very accurate. It may be noted that Rice Lake, which evidently is the inland lake of which he speaks, bore an Indian name represented as *Pemedashcoutayong*.

have two Villages and where the Canadians in Winter send Traders—Express in Winter pass this Lake on their way to Canada—Set off at one o'Clk, the wind of shore, row'd till two, sail'd till night, put into a deep Bay, found a Creek but could not get in, the Stream running very rapid, row'd further in the Bay and Encamp'd on the Beach, secured the Boat, from the fat fire Creek to this About 30 miles, the shore & perticularly in the Bays Level and good Beaches for Boats to land—and the Points Bluff—the Lake Shoal near the Shore.

15th March—Put off as soon as day appeared and row'd till ten, Passed a long Point[1] which forms two Deep Bays, one on either side, of Ten miles to the Bottom—in the Bay to the West falls one of the Creeks before mentioned, Coming from near the small Lake Inhabited by the Messessaugoes, in those two Bays Vessels might lay secure from Storms on the Lake in the West Bay sheltered from the South, E and NE winds, in the East from the West and N.W winds, the Point runs direct into the Lake for five Miles at least, you can't see the bottom of the East Bay in Passing Across from the End of the Point to the Main, this Bay has a fine River falling into it to the East. which forms a Basin And a Narrow Entrance into it, occasioned by a narrow neck or Sandy Beach between the Lake & River. At 11 o'Clock hoisted sail, the wind of shore, 1 o'Clock passed two Islands, the one called St. Nicholas,[2] the other never knew a name for,[3] nor did know there was one off St. Nicholas's—St. Nicholas's is About ½ a mile in circumference, the other about half that size—St. Nicholas's is About 1 Mile from shore, the other much smaller & about 2 miles beyond it, directly off into the Lake—either of which would be a safe Retreat for Vessels in a Storm, those Islands about twelve Miles East of the forementioned Point forming the two Bays. When the wind is high the Boats go within two miles of the bottom of these Bays and drag the Boats over a Point of Land about 200 yards wide. The Distance from our Encampment to the point about 12 miles, from the Point to St. Nicholas's Island ten miles. Continued sailing till night, put in shore and Encamped on a low point where we found a fine Creek and good Harbour—in a Pond, for our Boat saw this morning a great number of Wild Fowl, from the Island to this 25 miles. the shore much the same as yesterday only the Points not so Bluff—

March 16th—Put of our Boat very early, much Ice which had form'd last night, the wind ahead and partly from the shore, which drove the Ice in the Lake—row'd till nine o'Clock, came up to the two Duck Islands & saw the two Islands called the false Ducks, about South from the Real

[1] Presqu' Isle.
[2] Or Nicholson Island.
[3] Egg Island.

Ducks, the distance I take to be better than twelve miles between the real & false Ducks, as they appear from here, the Vessels if I remember well made the distance more, those Islands afford a safe Retreat for Vessels in case of a Storm. the Islands are much alike, about a mile round and nearly circular, distant from the main four miles, & from each other one—) The weather Calm row'd across a very deep Bay[1] of Twenty Miles down, & about ten directly over, this Bay is much larger, if it is taken from the point of a large Island to the East,[2] and the Ducks to the West—part of the main and the large Island on the East side the Bay, from the Ducks appears like a number of small Islands, & in many places a single Tree is only seen, many Persons not acquainted with the Passage have taken down the Bay[3] supposing it to be the Entrance of the River and in coming from the River have imagined the main to the West to be Islands from its appearance and gone down likewise down this Bay, Traders go in two Days to the before mentioned small Lake Inhabited by the Messessaugoes,—Continued rowing till the mouth of Caderonqua Bay[4] the wind coming fair sailed into Caderonqua Harbour the distance from our Encampment to Caderoghqua about thirty two miles, the Land in Genl all along very low & swampy back, the point rockey & shallow for some way out—there is so much of a sameness in the appearance of the Land from the Highlands to the River that a few miles off in the Lake there's no knowing one place from the other, nothing but the walls of the Barracks & Houses remain of the Fort,[5] it appears never to have been a place of strength, neither do I think its situation will admit it's being made so, the Land very stony & ground back to command it, it has a fine, safe Harbour for shipping, the little Island opposite the Fort, improved in the French time is now cover'd with small Trees—

I am told Vessels can't sail out of Caderoghque to the Lake but with a North or North east wind, an East and South East and South wind are fair winds for ships once clear of the River, to Niagara.

The above are all the observations I made on the North shore of Ontario, which would have been more perfect but for the severity of the weather, which prevented my taking notice of many parts of the shore, neither did I think those remarks would have been seen, or would have been more particular.

(*Signed*) WALTER BUTLER

[1] Prince Edward or South Bay.

[2] Amherst Island, apparently. The entrance to the Bay of Quinté would thus be included.

[3] That is, by the Bay of Quinté and the River Trent. [4] Cataraqui, now Kingston.

[5] A water-colour sketch of Cataraqui, made by James Peachey in 1783, is in the Public Archives. See also the reproduction in *The Diary of Mrs. Simcoe*, p. 112.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Ursprung der französischen Bevölkerung Canadas: Ein Beitrag zur Siedelungsgeschichte Nord-Amerikas. Von LOUIS HAMILTON. Berlin: Neufeld & Henius. 1920. Pp. 88.

IN his preface the author of this inextensive monograph expresses the hope that he has at last solved the very complicated problem of the origin of the French Canadians and Acadians. What he means by "at last" is not clear. Does the expression refer to his own previous contributions to the literature of the subject, or has he in mind what perhaps he regards as the futile attempts of others? As far as can be seen from the present work the problem remains for the most part where it was, for there seems to be substantial agreement between him and nearly all his predecessors, such as Lortie, Sulte, etc., that Normandy contributed a predominant proportion of the immigrants of French origin who first settled Canada and Acadia. At page 33 he says that "the fact remains (for in this all the authorities, Rameau excepted, agree) that the foundation [*Grundstock*] of the French Canadians was Norman, and that all immigrants who came in later naturally acquired an admixture of their blood." This being so, it would seem that differences of percentage or methods of estimating results become, more or less, unimportant in this discussion.

But with respect to other regions of France it is possible that Mr. Hamilton has made justifiable corrections in the percentages, by realizing that the old parish records of Quebec probably often gave merely the regions from which the immigrants departed, and not the regions of their birth. For instance the table made by Lortie, and based on figures given by Ferland, attributes to the small province of Aunis eleven per cent. of the immigrants, a figure which Mr. Hamilton reduces to one-fifth of one per cent. The reason for this difference lies in the fact that Ferland attributes the numbers of persons sailing from La Rochelle to Aunis, where La Rochelle is situated, whilst Mr. Hamilton decides from the names of the persons found in the parish registers that they must have come from other provinces more or less remote from the port of departure. Ferland, on the other hand, credits Bretagne with three and a half

per cent., which Mr. Hamilton raises to nearly nine per cent. And so on with other regions. But here there arises a doubt in the mind of the reader: Mr. Hamilton hardly gives enough cases to enable one to judge of the accuracy of his attributions of origins. A certain amount of reserve in accepting his figures as final would seem to be prudent. But since the authorities are practically agreed as to the predominance of Normandy the other regions count for less. The percentages given by Mr. Hamilton for the chief regions of origin are: *Normandie*, fourteen, *Bretagne*, eight and four-fifths, *Guienne*, five and a half, *Champagne*, five, *Languedoc*, five, *Bourgogne*, five, *Ile-de-France*, five, *Picardie*, five, *Gascogne*, four and a half. In all, he has estimated the figures for forty-three regions (pp. 74, 75).

A very interesting point in the work is the statement that one of the objects the author has in view is to clear the way for an investigation of the reasons for the striking characteristics of the French Canadians and for their differentiation in these characteristics from the French of France (p. 9). The question is, he says, whether the French Canadians are really French at all (p. 10, note 1). The most important fraction of their ancestors have come from regions where there was a strong admixture of Germanic blood, either Saxon or Scandinavian, and to this can be traced the differences between them and Frenchmen of France (p. 16). The description of these French Canadian characteristics and their comparison with those of the Normans constitute a notable part of the work, but they cannot be discussed here in detail. They cover such points as love of the mariner's life, manner of building houses, physical features (such as complexion, figure, size, etc.), cleanliness, love of singing, cunning, high birthrate, longevity, sobriety, etc., etc.

In regard to some of these, quite remarkable things are said, as for instance on page 36 where the author affirms that he leans to the view that the majority of the French Canadians are big, slim, and strong with light-blond or dark-blond hair, and blue or gray eyes—a view which would strike most Canadians as not being very accurate. It must frankly be said that this ethnological side of the work seems the least admirable of any.

The third chapter deals with the language question. The characteristic features of the French Canadian speech are the same as those of Normandy. So that linguistic considerations strengthen and confirm the biographical and ethnological arguments.

The fourth and last chapter deals with the Acadians. They also have the characteristics of the Normans from whom they have mostly sprung, although there seems to be a larger infusion of Breton blood in their veins, than is the case with Canadians.

It may be permitted to add that there are some minor slips. For instance, on page 11, note 2, "Louis Herbert" should be Louis Hébert. On page 32, note 1, Drummond and Campbell (presumably W. W. Campbell) are classed as French-Canadian poets. One is also perplexed by the odd passage on page 79: "Such a policy has no adherents amongst the English Canadians or in Ottawa, and woe to him who would dare even to mention it." Mr. Hamilton seems to have some curious notions about Canadian politics.

J. SQUAIR

Dollard des Ormeaux et ses Compagnons: Notes et Documents. Par E. Z. MASSICOTTE. Avec une introduction par AEGIDIUS FAUTEUX. Montréal: Le Comité du Monument Dollard des Ormeaux. 1920. Pp. 93.

THE committee who have brought about the erection of a monument to Dollard and his companions, were wisely actuated in publishing the present volume. For deeds of valour reach better and further when written in books than in bronze, and the epic of the Long Sault is worthy of being eternally retold to the successive ages.

The task of grouping the documents and information relating to them could not have been entrusted to better hands than those of Mr. Massicotte. Few persons, if any, know more intimately the minute details of individual life and local conditions in early French Montreal. As a matter of fact, the present volume is a reprint, with an appendix, of two articles published by him in the *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, in April, 1912, and January, 1913. In these articles, which form the bulk of the book, he has either given *in extenso* the most important documents, analysed the incidental material, or brought together details collected by various authors relating to the young heroes, interspersing the whole with illuminating commentaries. In the appendix, which is the new part of the book, there are printed two contemporaneous narratives and a brief mention of the fight.

Some of the manuscripts throw an entirely new light on the subject. They show that, before leaving, Dollard and his companions never contemplated, as currently related, sacrificing themselves in a fight to death in order to stem the coming invasion. They did not know the existence of such an invasion. Their first idea was only to make raids on the Iroquois. In his deed of gift, Valais clearly states that he makes it, "desiring to go in a party with Sr Dollard against small Iroquois bands, and not knowing how it will please God to dispose of him during this time" (p. 66); Dollard signs a note in which he says: "I promise to pay him on my return" (p. 40); and even Tavernier's will contains the

significant words: "In case that the said Tavernier dies, and if he does not die the undersigned [document] will be broken" (p. 68). It is evident that it was only when they realized the strength of the enemy that the heroes decided to die in the attempt to stop them. This does not lessen their glory, but merely throws a new light on it.

There exists in the Archives at Ottawa—a place never to be overlooked in relation to Canadian history—a manuscript which relates to Valais, one of Dollard's companions. It is a contract, dated December 21, 1654, between Ducharme and Valais and between them and M. de Maisonneuve. It gives important details, which contradict some assertions of Mr. Massicotte, taken from Faillon's *Histoire de la Colonie Française.* Faillon had evidently seen the document, but misread it. For instance it shows that Valais was not a carpenter, but a ploughman and farm-laborer, and that only Ducharne, his associate, who was a carpenter, agreed to mend rifles and pistols for M. de Maisonneuve.

This error, as well as other minor ones, is entirely due to Faillon; but it is a little surprising to find that Mr. Massicotte does not make use in his book of information already printed by himself. He does not mention the profession of Crusson, Josselin and Lecompte, and calls Doussin a miller and soldier (p. 52). Yet in his article, *La Recrue de 1653*, in the *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal* for October, 1913, we find the names of all the above with the mention, "défricheur" while Doussin is termed "scieur de long".

It is a pity that Mr. Massicotte has not printed all the original information at hand. Why leave out the narratives of Dollier de Casson and M. de Belmont, which are extremely precise and valuable? There is also a letter of Marie de l'Incarnation, dated November 2, 1660, which could have been printed, as it gives additional details regarding the fate of the prisoners.

Though not as complete as it might have been, this small book is a valuable piece of work, with many interesting details.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

Grands Anniversaires: Souvenirs historiques et pensées utiles. Par l'abbé H.-A. SCOTT. Québec. 1919. Pp. xiv, 304.

THE ABBÉ SCOTT is already well known to Canadian scholars, especially for his admirable contributions to *Canada and its Provinces.* His latest work is a collection of papers dealing with a variety of subjects. It can easily be divided into two parts; one more or less historical, in which parochial history is prominent, and another consisting of sermons and addresses.

In his preface the abbé Scott defends the gathering of mere stray

sheaves into the garner-house of a book. The defence, which is wholly unnecessary, is a *jeu d'esprit* worthy of Charles Lamb. Indeed a kindly humanity, a gentle humour, a prevailing courtesy combine with the scholarship to which we have grown accustomed to make an eminently readable and interesting volume. The purely historical essays—those on the parish of Notre-Dame-de-Foy, of Saint-Columb-de-Sillery, of St. Félix-du-Lap-Rouge—have necessarily a severely local interest. But the author seems to have grasped with the true historian's instinct the value and limitations of such history. He is always trying to avoid a mere chronicle, by a sense of historical values, and he always keeps in mind the wider background of history into which really valuable local history must fit. Whether he is dealing with an old parish—like that of Notre-Dame-de-Foy—or with one comparatively new—we continually find evidences of these qualities.

The mechanical side of the book is good. Personally we could have done without the illustrations, and the abbé Scott seems to have forgotten some half-smiling phrase in their defence! There is unfortunately no index—a defect which is a severe handicap. Might it not be possible, especially in books of an historical nature, for French-Canadian authors to rectify this defect which is too common in their books?

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Lendemains de conquête: Cours d'histoire du Canada a l'Université de Montréal, 1919-1920. Par l'abbé LIONEL GROULX. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action Française. 1920. Pp. 235

A RECENT worker in the historical field, the abbé Groulx is proving himself a prolific author. *Lendemains de conquête*, a series of five lectures delivered at the University of Montreal, is the suggestive title of his latest contribution. In it, hardly less than in his previous volumes, he reveals himself a psychologist, a painter, and a master of style, with an extensive knowledge of history. But in him the literary man dominates the historian. What interests him, what he delights in, what he is not afraid to go out of his way to get, is the description, the analysis, or the general view—in a word, *le tableau*. For he knows how to group facts and ideas; how to mix the various colours; and how to make out of the whole a pleasing and living picture. The artist in him almost never fails.

Very literary, the abbé Groulx is also at the same time very provincial. We suspect him to have read rather attentively M. Bourassa's book, *Que devons-nous à l'Angleterre?* For him the fact of the survival of the French in Canada is due to no one but themselves. This idea permeates the whole book. It is in its light that everything is seen,

discussed, and finally judged. Unconsciously, in working out this thesis, his analysis sometimes tends to misinterpret facts, and his praise, already meagre, is always conditional. He has not yet—though he is improving on his previous works—succeeded in reaching the higher level of history, the serene impartiality, for instance, of Mr. Chapais. For his romantic and patriotic mind, contemporaneous elements play but a very small part in the making of history. Racial atavism is, under Providence, the explanation of all things, *omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*.

Influenced by these ever-present factors, literature and environment, the abbé Groulx has produced in *Lendemains de conquête* an interesting, well-informed, and well-written book, which will probably be found splendid by the Quebec majority, sectional by outsiders, and unconvincing by scholars. Between its two covers, is gathered a good deal of information, based on wide reading and occasional researches. Though it is generally but a new presentation of known facts, the data are well brought together, but sifted through a partisan mind. The author often considers eighteenth century facts and ideas with the mentality of a twentieth-century man. As a consequence, he occasionally lacks objectivity and retrospective adaptation.

Falling from a professor's pulpit, the abbé Groulx's teaching to uninformed minds is not without undesirable consequences, for, though few passages can be actually impeached, since the author is too honest not to be generally fair and too broadminded not to state facts frankly, yet the whole tone is decisively one-sided and adversely suggestive, with an atmosphere of suspicion, bitterness, and distrust. Not only historical veracity, but literary pleasure is unfortunately impaired by the ungenerous treatment of things relating to old France, by the continuous harping on the fact of the conquest, and by the too frequent disparagement of things British. Racially speaking, it would have been better for New France not to have been conquered, but it was no disgrace for the men who fought at Carillon and Ste. Foy to yield to vastly superior wealth and numbers. French Canadians have won enough battles to look any man in the face. Let them not make their glorious history a long wail of recriminations. To extol their ancestors' courage and virtues (and these were magnificent), it is not necessary to abuse France and to belittle England. French Canadians had, it is true, to fight to secure most of their rights. But there is nothing in that either special to them or disparaging to England. No progress is ever achieved without a struggle. The English had to fight civil wars to establish their contitution. The French had to slaughter a king and thousands of citizens to reach political freedom. It is praiseworthy of us to have always striven for constitutional improvement, but it is not a disgrace for

England. If conservatism were a crime, the history of the world would be nothing but a criminal record. Let us not diminish our achievements by making them a reproach to others. We must not forget that England, though she inevitably made mistakes, granted us in the short space of twenty-eight years more rights than we ever enjoyed before. In the name of history, let us have the pride of being just.

Under five different chapter heads—"Situation of the Vanquished"; "Policy of the victor"; "Tribunals of the military occupation"; "The religious question"; "After six years of conquest"—Mr. Groulx examines the economic, political, and religious condition of the newly-conquered people. His picture of the desolation of New France is very vivid. He rightly holds Wolfe and Murray to blame for their wanton destruction of Canadian farms, always to me, especially in the case of Murray, a subject of wonder and regret. The whole picture, however, is not without redeeming features, for the country at large remains untouched; the population, almost entirely rural, are left with their greatest wealth, a fertile soil beneath their feet. As to the unsatisfactory character of the capitulation, it was mostly due to Vandreuil's stupidity in drafting it. Again, it is painful to find France, charged later with the desire of getting rid of Canada, placed here with the accusation that she rejoiced with Voltaire at the loss of the colony and forgot all about it. This goes too far, as the evidence shows that the King felt deeply about it, that the ministers scored Vaudreuil for its poor defence, that the France that mattered, industry and commerce, the army and the Church, were aggrieved by it and agitated for its recapture; while the ministers and the clergy continuously interested themselves in things Canadian and were instrumental in obtaining a bishop for Canada.

Judicial organization is probably the most satisfactorily treated subject, because the documents on that point are very numerous and absolutely conclusive. In each of their districts, Murray, Gage, and Burton established courts judging according to French laws, and with a laudable accuracy Mr. Groulx describes their composition and mechanism. The evidence of the good spirit and working of the system brings him to write: "In all loyalty we must say more and declare that our fathers were well satisfied with the whole judicial administration of the time. And what could they complain of? None of the documents of the period betrays a thought of using the courts in favour of a policy of exploitation or persecution. Far from it." If there were more pages in that tone of justice, though the chapter ends with a Parthian shot, the whole book would gain in value and impartiality.

The religious question was a thorny one. Here we had a foreign Catholic colony belonging to a Protestant empire, at a time when no

country permitted liberty of conscience. Without definite rights in that sphere the Canadians joined all their efforts in demanding a bishop. That struggle of theirs against prohibitive legislation, adverse prejudices, and anti-papist feeling constitutes a fine story of religious zeal, firmness, patience, and triumphant endurance. In spite of some colouring and lack of atmospheric adaptation, the story is well told, ending with Briand's consecration and return to his rejoicing fold. To Murray's eloquent pleading was due in large measure the final success. The attribution of his conduct to a simple motive of revenge against the enemies of the Canadians, is not supported by the facts. To the British ministers who granted to a foreign colony a religious liberty which no Parliament dared concede to English Catholics, the author might perhaps have said, Thank you; but then, if he acknowledged gratitude, what about racial atavism?

The book ends with a survey of the situation in 1765. It is amusing to watch the perplexity of the author, divided between his religious faith and his un-British feelings, when he has to pronounce judgment on the conquest. The Church holds it "a providential fact", sparing Canada the horrors of the French Revolution, but the abbé Groulx's nationalism balks before the admission of a British conquest as being a "blessing".

Purposely we now come back to the second chapter, on England's policy, because in it is exhibited the most unsatisfactory treatment of historical evidence. Though the facts and documents of the period, even those used in the book, show British ministers and generals pursuing towards the Canadians a liberal policy and establishing a kindly administration, so much so that Mr. Groulx admits that there must be destroyed "the legend of a military régime, interfering, violating all rights", still by quibbling, and by belittling policies and persons, the impression is left that, though no doubt much was done by the British, yet surely they had some interest in doing it; that they had something up their sleeves; and that they could have done more.

It would be too long a task to bring these pages into line with documentary evidence. A few examples may serve as illustrations.

Mr. Groulx makes it a grievance, and the pretext of a fine romantic page, that the British should have disarmed the militia men. Though this is a constant rule of war, he gives it the character of a mean deed—"superfluous", says he, because so few soldiers were left in the country. This is misinterpreting facts and reversing logic. The paucity of soldiers is, on the contrary, a reason for disarmament. In any case why, without appositeness, term the British soldiers "jailers" (pp. 64, 69, 70), when we know "that the troops have lived with the inhabitants in an harmony unexampled even at home".

Quoting the splendid letter of Egremont to Amherst, in which he says, "It is the King's pleasure" and "orders" that the Canadians, "being equally His Majesty's subjects . . . be humanely and kindly treated", and that "insulting" or "reviling" them, "ungenerous insinuations" against them should be punished, Mr. Groulx belittles it, as a proclamation for public consumption, something like an election speech, "good dispositions" which "do not amount to much" (p. 85). Yet he knows it was an order, and that it was carried out, and that people were punished for disobeying it.

The most surprising thing in the book, however, is the treatment of Murray. Mr. Groulx knows that Murray, shut up in Quebec, with Canada in the hands of a French army, rebuilt houses for the population, repaired the church of the Ursulines, had money collected among the British merchants and troops to feed the starving citizens. He knows that Murray established courts judging according to French laws, in opposition to his instructions; that even before the treaty, he praised the Canadians and asked for them religious freedom, and that after the treaty he defended them against attacks and tentative oppression, and that he recommended the appointment of Briand as a bishop. Here is how Murray writes to a minister: "I glory in having been accused of warmth and firmness in protecting the King's Canadian subjects, and of doing the utmost in my power to gain to my Royal Master the affection of that brave, hardy race—I declare to your Lordship I would cheerfully submit to greater Calumnies and Indignities, if greater can be devised than hitherto I have undergone".[1] And he asks for his resignation rather than to carry out penal laws against them.[2] Here again is how he writes privately to his secretary: "You know Cramahé, I love the Canadians but you cannot conceive the uneasiness I feel on their account, to see them made the prey of the most abandoned of men while I am at their head is too much for me to endure much longer, take courage, therefore my man, speak boldly the truth and let you and I at least have the consolation of having done our duty to God, to our country and our own consciences".[3] Can a more noble language be imagined, a monument both to Murray and to the Canadians?

Yet this Murray, generous, big-hearted, frank to impetuosity, just as justice, straight as a sword, Mr. Groulx describes as a man "with doubtful qualities" (p. 76), "suspicious designs" (p. 157), "tortuous and dissimulating character" (p. 172), who fought for the Canadians, "in order to checkmate" his personal enemies.

[1] Canadian Archives, B. 8, Murray to Shelburne, 20th Aug., 1766, pp. 5 and 6.
[2] Ibid., Murray Papers, vol. II. Murray to lord Eglington, Oct. 27th, 1764, p. 171.
[3] Ibid., Murray to Cramahé, 17th Nov., 1764, p. 190.

It is true that Murray made use of the apostate Roubaud, that he dreamed of making converts to Protestantism, that he did not like the Jesuits, but what is wrong in all that? Having read the whole correspondence of Murray, I have always hoped that French Canada would erect a statue to its greatest and warmest friend, who sacrificed his position for them, who gave them justice and religious rights, and whose letters are the foundation of the Quebec Act. After reading the unfortunate pages of *Lendemains de conquête*, one is glad to know that Quebec has just placed the portrait of Murray in her hall of fame, the chamber of the Legislative Assembly.

Let us go back to the address of the seigniors of Quebec to the King, after Murray's departure, and read the words of those who knew him well and lived with him. "The Seigniors in the district of Quebec, as well in their own names as in those of all the inhabitants, their tenants, penetrated with grief at the departure of His Excellency the Hon. James Murray, whom they have since the conquest of this Province loved and respected even more on account of his personal qualities, than as their Governor, believe they would be unworthy to live, if they did not strive to make known to Your Majesty, their Sovereign and to the whole of England, the obligations they owe him, which they will never forget, and the sincere regret they feel at his departure. . . . our Father, our Protector, is taken from us, . . . a governor, . . . who was making (us) happy to (our) satisfaction"[1]. . . .

Space is lacking to analyse Mr. Groulx's historical methods. To say the least they are unscientific. In the case of documentary evidence, the above illustrations abundantly prove it. It might be added that, on page 210, he makes a statement about the domiciled Indians and and refers as his authority to a letter of Gage which does not mention a word about them. On page 90 by modifying the text of a quotation, he entirely changes its tone. On page 227 he mutilates a text, and by piecing together two unrelated parts makes it say something which is not in the document. His handling of references is no better. Quoting from one printed source, he will sometimes give the full title of the collection (p. 14), then only an abbreviated title (p. 22), and again only a sub-title (p. 15). He will cite a document without indicating that it belongs to a collection (p. 26). Quoting from a compilation, he does not mention the nature, nor the date of the documents, (pp. 36, 61, 66, etc.), but once in a while he will (p. 65). Sometimes he omits the pagination (p. 14), or the date of a letter (p. 19), or the indication of the series' volume (p. 20), or the name of the author (pp. 28, 39),

[1] Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, pp. 18-20.

or the location of the documents (pp. 47, 81). He will quote a letter without indication of the location or of the collection (p. 153), or give in French the title of an English collection (p. 153). He will present his authorities in any kind of order, beginning sometimes with the location of the series (p. 82), sometimes with the designation of the document (p. 83). Of course, the name, place, and date of editions are very seldom or indifferently given (pp. 23, 33, 36, etc). On the same page he refers to the same source under different names: e.g., Archives publiques, and Archives du Canada (p. 41); Rapport sur les Archives (pp. 45, 47); and this is again transformed into Archives Canadiennes, Rapport de 1905 (p. 40). In the same note, he will quote the same series in two different ways (p. 32). He will even cite in his text a letter without any reference, but with the indication that he mentioned it before (p. 83-84).

From the historical student's standpoint, the book's utility is thus greatly restricted, for unless one is familiar with the bibliography of the period, one is completely puzzled by the unscientific treatment of the references. There is just too much literature to make the book historical and just too much colouring to make it authoritative. This is a pity, because the greater part of it is good, and a large number of readers would enjoy its qualities, which are not few. The literary merit is specially commendable, and some pages are master-pieces of historical and psychological reconstitution.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

The Slave in Canada. By the Hon. WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL. (Reprinted from the Journal of Negro History, vol. v, no. 3, July, 1920). Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. 1920. Pp. v, 120.

MR. JUSTICE RIDDELL'S paper on *The Slave in Upper Canada*, originally contributed to the Royal Society of Canada, has been expanded into a general study of slavery in Canada which occupies the whole of the *Journal of Negro Slavery* for July, 1920. It now appears in reprint, with title page, and forms the most complete study that has yet appeared of slavery in the British North American possessions. Judge Riddell has shown that slavery existed in this country within a few years after the first settlement of the country by the French, and that it continued until the Imperial Act of 1833 freed all slaves in British dominions the world over. Much has been written respecting the legislation of 1793 in Upper Canada, which is popularly supposed to have ended servitude in that province, but in ample detail Judge Riddell shows that there were still slaves during the first quarter of the nineteenth century: "The Act of 1793 was admittedly but a compromise measure; and beneficial as it was, it was a paltering with sin."

Physical conditions in Canada made slavery on any large scale an impossibility, just as in New England, so that at no time were there ever any large number held in servitude in this country. Those who were so held were chiefly personal servants, many of them brought in by their owners from the United States. There was one phase of the general question of slavery that affected Canada for many years, namely, the refuge accorded here to slaves escaping from their masters in the south and making their way to this country. On the eve of the Civil War in the United States Canada had a negro population of probably 30,000, most of them refugees, settled largely in south-western Ontario and in two or three of the cities. Mr. Justice Riddell devotes one chapter of his study to this phase of the subject. Rendition of fugitives back to their masters became an issue in Canada on more than one occasion, but particularly in the John Anderson affair in 1859. This case, which attracted attention in England and caused a sharp difference of opinion between the British government and the Canadian authorities, was regarded as a test case by the Missouri slave-holders, who pursued the negro for seven years before they succeeded in landing him in a court. Their disappointment was keen when the Canadian courts freed Anderson on a technicality, though it was obvious that the British government was stoutly opposed to his surrender in any case.

Mr. Justice Riddell's study of slavery is well documented. He has drawn largely upon the resources of Canada's great storehouse of historical material, the Public Archives, and has also consulted freely the vast literature of slavery which resulted from the system being so widespread on this continent. Altogether he has produced a study that will be of permanent value.

FRED LANDON

The Loyalists of Pennsylvania. By WILBUR H. SIEBERT. (The Ohio State University Bulletin, vol. xxiv, number 23, April 1, 1920: Contributions in History and Political Science, number 5.) Columbus: The Ohio State University. Pp. 117.

The Loyalists in the Revolution. By FRANK R. DIFFENDERFER. (Papers Read before the Lancaster County Historical Society: September 5 and November 7, 1919.) Lancaster, Pa. 1919. Pp. 113-125, 155-166.

PROFESSOR SIEBERT has made a valuable contribution to the history of the Revolution, restricted though it is to the operations of the Loyalists within the limits of the State of Pennsylvania. He appears to have impartially consulted all available original sources of information, and has carefully arranged his material under headings to which the subject

matter most readily lends itself. The first two chapters are devoted to the Loyalists of the Upper Ohio and of north-eastern Pennsylvania, while the third deals with the efforts at repression in the south-eastern part of the State. The general reader, however, is likely to pronounce the fourth and fifth chapters the most readable of all. These deal with the invasion of the State by General Howe, his occupation and subsequent evacuation of Philadelphia, and the inevitable reprisals which followed. The concluding chapters further depict the treatment of the Loyalists at the hands of the Revolutionists, and the emigration of large numbers of them to the British possessions to the north.

Professor Siebert does not even touch upon the causes leading up to the Revolution, and thereby escapes much controversial matter. Rarely do we find a historical work so free from the personal views of the author. He does not plead the cause of either side, but in a fair and judicial manner presents the facts in their proper sequence and leaves it to the reader to form his own conclusions. The usefulness of the volume is greatly enhanced by a very complete index and by foot-notes indicating the authorities consulted. Another interesting feature is that each chapter is complete in itself and may be read without reference to the others. The monograph might well be published in book form for more general circulation,

The ostensible object of Dr. Diffenderfer's paper is to remove many of the false impressions created by a study of the school and popular histories of the United States. The author unhesitatingly declares that, in almost every community, even the rank and file of the Loyalists were among the most wealthy and influential men. Their position he describes as follows:

> It was first, last, and all the time for the unity of the British Empire. At the same time, it did not uphold the colonial system of the mother country in its entirety. Far from it. Before the actual breaking out of hostilities, as well as for some time after, the Loyalists were quite as anxious as the Whigs to have existing abuses corrected. But they proceeded through legally organized forms to bring these ends about. It must be remembered they were Americans as well as the Whigs and as truly attached to their native country as the latter. But they believed and hoped that justice could be better secured by mild measures than by force and that the better sense of the English nation would in the end right their wrongs.

Dr. Diffenderfer defends the confiscation of the property of the Loyalists as a retaliatory measure in the first instance, but does not seek to excuse the cruel treatment meted out to them in the later stages of the Revolution. Upon the whole, the paper is a plain and sympathetic statement of the cause of the Loyalists, and should go a long way to attain the object the author had in view.

W. S. HERRINGTON

Spain and England's Quarrel over the Oregon Country. By F. G. YOUNG. (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, March, 1920, pp. 13-20).

The Log of the Princesa, by Estevan Martinez. By H. I. PRIESTLEY. (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, March, 1920, pp. 21-31).

THE Nootka Convention of 1790, which settled the dispute arising out of the seizure of Meares's vessels, marks one of the crucial points in the history of the northwest coast of America. Our knowledge of the circumstances of the seizure has been confined, practically, to Ingraham's letter, Colnett's account, and the statements in Meares's *Memorial* and in his *Voyage* on the one hand, and in the reports of the Viceroy of Mexico on the other. Meares's mendacity is proverbial. Colnett's account was written nine years after the event and entirely from memory—a fact which, coupled with his interest and his alleged insanity, has greatly reduced its value. The letter of Ingraham and Gray carries on its face a strong Spanish bias. The furthest investigations of Bancroft and Professor Manning failed to unearth the log of the *Princesa*, which was known to have been kept by Martinez, containing the daily entries of the transactions at Nootka during this important period. The late Professor Stephens of the Academy of Pacific Coast History discovered the missing document in the *Depo'sito Hidrogra'fico de Madrid*, and a copy and translation are now in the Bancroft Library. Comparing the statements in the *Log* with the other sources, Mr. Priestley has been able to fill in some of the blanks in the accepted story, and to modify and correct some of the positions which have heretofore passed as history. He freely admits that this evidence comes from the pen of an intensely interested party, but being a day-by-day record made before any international complications had arisen or been dreamed of, he claims for it more weight than it would otherwise carry. It is not surprising to find that Meares's allegation that Martinez required Funter to sell to him the *North West America* obtains no support from the *Log*. It is inherently improbable. No positive light is thrown upon the question, so much stressed and so much discussed by Manning, as to whether the building erected by Meares was in existence when Martinez reached Nootka. The reasons for the seizure of the *Argonaut*, as given in the *Log*, are that Martinez's suspicions regarding Colnett's real intentions were justified by his alleged refusal to produce his instructions and that the Spanish flag had been insulted by his arrogant conduct. The capture of the four vessels seems to have been the result of Spanish jealousy aroused by the mystery and duplicity that surrounded the whole venture, increased by imperfect interpretation, and inflamed by the old-standing mutual hatreds of the two nations. Mr. Priestley's article, though all too short and presupposing a fair knowledge of the existing authorities, is the

latest word upon this tangled matter; it will form a valuable appendix to Manning's scholarly discussion. As the author remarks: "We have not yet a perfectly unbiased account of what really did happen at Nootka nor shall we, in all likelihood, ever have." The whole story of the Spanish occupation of Nootka is such a delightfully romantic page that the hope is entertained that the *Log* in its entirety may yet be given to the world.

Mr. F. G. Young has added as an introduction a short *résumé* of the history of the coast up to the date of the trouble. It is a boldly sketched general view of the western movement outlining the advance of the Spaniards from the southward and of the Russians from the eastward and the operations of the earliest maritime traders. While sufficiently exact for the general reader it contains a number of minor inaccuracies. It is scarcely correct to say that Spain had by the explorations of 1774 and 1775 "traced the main outlines of the coast from about 55° southward"; Maurelle's *Voyage*, which is the only authority in any way supporting the statement, shows that the *Sonora*, on the return voyage in 1775, was never far from shore, but the erroneous outline of the accompanying map, the lack of any name-giving, and the total absence of any description of the coast render the quoted expression inapplicable. The £20,000 reward had been offered from the year 1745, but it had been limited to the discovery of a passage through Hudson Bay by a privately owned vessel; all that was done in 1776 was to remove these limitations (see Cook's *Voyage*, Introduction, p. xxxvi). Captain Cook did not anchor in, nor name, Friendly Cove; he anchored in Resolution Cove, Bligh Island; Friendly Cove was named by Strange in 1786. John Ledyard was not a sailor; he was a corporal of marines upon the *Resolution*. It is doubtful if any maritime trader even dreamed of permanent occupation; the trade was essentially ephemeral. The *Iphigenia* was fitted out, not by "a company of English merchants at Bengal, India", but by John Henry Cox & Co., merchants at Canton (see Duffin's letter in Vancouver's *Voyage*, 1801, vol. 2, p. 370). The *Iphigenia* was still sailing under Portuguese colours when seized, as appears from Mr. Priestley's quotation from the *Log* (p. 24); the license to trade had not then reached Nootka, as neither the *Princess Royal* nor the *Argonaut* had arrived.

F. W. HOWAY

Old Province Tales: Upper Canada. By WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company. 1920. Pp. 280.

THIS charmingly printed and bound little volume is written by one of the busiest high court judges in Ontario. Mr. Justice Riddell has well

learned the secret of organizing his leisure, for year after year there comes from his pen enough of excellent writing on Canadian history to justify the impression that he must give his whole time to such tasks. By constant practice his style has become clear and concise, and he has learned the secret of selecting what is salient. He is a diligent student of manuscript archives, and by the use of unedited material is adding to the sum of our knowledge. The present volume is rather a by-product: it is a collection of short papers on separate incidents of the early history of the Province of Ontario. Its chief value is in creating an atmosphere for the past. We are told intimate events of the life of the period about 1800, and inevitably we find the outlook of that time often in sharp contrast with that of the present.

Duelling was common during the first half-century of the life of the province. It continued, indeed, after the union of the two Canadas in 1841. During the troubled days in 1849 when the parliament buildings in Montreal were burned by a mob, Mr. (afterwards Sir) John A. Macdonald and Mr. William Hume Blake were ordered under arrest by the Speaker because they were known to be about to fight a duel. In the account of "The First Attorney General", John White, we learn that he was killed by Major Small at York, now Toronto, in a duel in 1800. In 1806 William Dickson, a prominent lawyer, killed William Weekes in a duel at Niagara on the American side of the river. Later there was a fatal duel at Toronto between Mr. Ridout and Mr. Jarvis, members of well-known families. Ridout was killed, and for years afterwards the congregation of St. James' Cathedral on Sunday morning might have seen the mother of the slain man waiting to curse, for his share in the tragedy, Mr. Boulton, the second of the slayer, as he left the church.

We have other interesting lights on the life of the time. "A Journey from Montreal to Detroit" consists of a narrative written in 1789 (*annus mirabilis*) by Miss Anne Powell, daughter of William Dummer Powell, who made the journey to take up the duties of a judge at Detroit, then British territory. The educated writer gives a vivid picture, important for the history of transportation in Ontario. "The Tragedy of the 'Speedy'" is an account of the loss of a sailing ship on Lake Ontario in 1804 with a judge, the solicitor-general of the time, and other prominent people on board. Not one of the ship's company escaped. Another tragedy is that of "Brock's Aide-de-Camp", John Macdonell, killed in 1812 with his leader. "The Earl of Selkirk" is yet another tragic figure, and the author gives his high authority to the view that the proceedings against Selkirk in Upper Canada were entirely fair, a view not held by Selkirk's family. "Some Non-British Immigrants" tells of foreign settlers and especially of French *émigrés* who came to Upper Canada.

Only one Frenchman, a Mr. St. George, made a success, and his son was long a wine merchant in Toronto. There are sketches of the rebel "Generals" Sutherland and Theller, in the rising of 1837-1838. In the account of the agitator, Robert Gourlay, the author is correct in his warning that the passions of the time have so clouded the evidence that we cannot take words at their face value. "The Baldoon Mystery" shows the astounding belief in witchcraft in Canada less than a hundred years ago. With such a variety of contents Mr. Justice Riddell has given us a valuable and interesting volume. He is surely wrong in saying that knighthood is now an honour "almost as of course" (p. 225) for a Chief Justice in Canada. We are apparently to have no more knights.

GEORGE M. WRONG

Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812. Edited with an Introduction by WILLIAM WOOD. In Three Volumes. Volume I. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1920. Pp. xvi, 678.

THE first volume of this interesting and scholarly work begins with an introduction of one hundred and thirty-two pages by the editor, giving a condensed survey of the principal events. Col. Wood was enabled, as he states, by the Champlain Society, to make a tour of some three thousand miles, to visit the chief scenes of action, and thus to obtain a certain amount of local colour for his narrative. As the face of the country has, however, been greatly changed in the course of a hundred years, he does not appear to have been particularly successful in this mission.

The chapters of the introduction, twelve in number, are intended to correspond exactly with the groups of documents that are to follow. The narrative is marked by considerable facility and felicity in expression, and is generally accurate in statement. The same field has recently been covered by the same writer in another publication of about the same length. Under these circumstances, a certain amount of repetition in phraseology is but natural and, perhaps, inevitable. In both, the contest is described as "a sprawling and sporadic war"; in both, the American General Smyth is labelled with the epithet "egregious"; in both the American side of the frontier is described as becoming "a line of blackened desolation". Many instances occur in which a sentence is slightly altered by a mere transposition of words, or change of adjectives.

Unqualified eulogy is bestowed on Brock; if he committed any errors, they are ignored. Tecumseh was "the very incarnation of the Red Man at his best" (p. 74). Drummond is described as "a man of talent, though not a genius, and every inch a soldier" (p. 94). Other British officers receive some hard knocks. Prevost, we are told, "lacked effective initiative himself and he was afraid of encouraging it in others" (p. 3).

Again, "what were to prove two of the weakest spots in the defence of Canada—Prevost and Baynes—came into evidence at Quebec just a year before the first decisive actions of the war" (p. 4). In another passage, the adjutant-general, Colonel Edward Baynes, is stigmatized as "a man who apparently was best fitted for doing what is known as the 'dirty work' of a staff. The gossip against him was that he was the son of a hospital mate at Gibraltar, and that he got on by doing what weak commanders of higher motives, like Prevost, would not do for themselves, but would allow others to do for them. In any case he is a sinister figure in the war. Not one good stroke of work stands to his credit; and he was the willing tool of Prevost in all the disastrous truces that so greatly damaged the British cause. He was even said to have profited by them. But there is no convicting evidence of this" (pp. 59-60). Sheaffe, likewise, unfortunate man, "who had many American connections, was criminally weak after the battle [of Queenston] was won," "and the military advantages of victory were wantonly thrown away" (p. 45).

Only two secondary authorities are anywhere cited. One of these is the work entitled *An Account of the Chief Naval and Military Occurrences of the Late War*, by William James, with reference to certain documents, which, is fact, were mostly reprinted from the London *Gazette;* and the other is Mr. L. H. Irving's careful volume on *Officers of the British Forces in Canada during the War of 1812*.

The account of the action at Châteauguay is discursive and disproportionate in length; but, in other respects, the narrative is well balanced.

The documents in the present volume relate entirely to events that preceded the war or that occurred in the year 1812. They are divided into two large groups. The first of these, entitled, "Preparation, 1801-1812", is arranged in three subdivisions, under the heads: "General", "Naval", and "Military". It contains one hundred and fifteen papers of varying length and value. The editor takes care to explain that no discrimination has been made "between documents that have been printed over and over again and those which are now published for the first time. There are several 'finds' of prime importance in the text as well as in the maps and illustrations." These "finds" are not otherwise indicated and the reader is accordingly obliged to hunt for them unassisted.

In this group, the majority of the "general" and "naval" items appear at first sight to be printed or republished for the first time. Among those thus reprinted may be noted the Army Bills Act and *The Guardian Extra* of June 9, 1812, containing a manifesto by Joseph Willcocks.

The Army Bills Act is termed "the most important financial measure of the war, and in one sense, of the whole financial history of Canada. These bills were the first paper money ever redeemed at par." The latter statement is certainly open to question. In most of the British colonies in North America, paper money was adopted at an early date, as an expedient to supply the lack of coin. The paper money issued by the Province of Massachusetts Bay was actually redeemed in hard cash with the indemnity received from the British Treasury for the expenses incurred in the conquest of Louisbourg in 1745. In Canada paper money had been introduced in 1696. Its use was discontinued in 1720, but resumed two years later. In 1812, a well-informed correspondent of the Colonial Office wrote that, "with paper money in Canada, the French erected forts, paid armies, raised fortifications, built vessels, monopolized the fur trade, hired Indians, and defeated for near seventy years all the attempts of Great Britain." The inhabitants of both provinces had long been accustomed to the circulation of merchants' notes for small amounts, known as "bons", from the word printed or written in the margin.

Only two despatches from Lord Bathurst to Prevost are included in this group. None of the letters written by Augustus Foster, the British minister at Washington, to Prevost, and few of those from Liverpool to Prevost, or from Prevost to Liverpool find a place. These throw much light on the situation, and it seems strange that they should have been overlooked or ignored.

Many of the more important documents in the military subdivision have been in print before. The exceptions are mostly General Orders. One interesting document, now reproduced, is a description of the semaphore telegraph, accompanied by instructions for its use, in the line of communication, established by Sir James H. Craig, in 1808, between the citadel of Quebec and the isle of Bic. A former system had actually been used by Haldimand in 1782, when threatened by the attack of a French fleet. The statement that this mode of signalling was employed on the Niagara frontier, is probably a mistake. Owing to the wooded nature of the country, the method adopted there for the rapid transmission of information was a chain of beacons.

The second group of documents, entitled, "Brock, 1812", is arranged in no less than seven subdivisions. The first of these contains forty-five items; the second, twenty-one; the third, fifty-one; the fourth, thirty-five; the fifth, seventeen; the sixth, seven; and the last, two. With very few exceptions, these have been printed within recent years in other collections; sometimes, it must be said, not with the same accuracy, and never in such a sumptuous form.

The method of grouping has some disadvantages, as the same letter frequently deals with events in separate theatres of action. Instead of being arranged in chronological order, the enclosures follow the covering letters.

One "find" of considerable value is the "Diary of William McCay", from August 1 to September 8, 1812.

It seems odd that the Federalist skit, called "The War of The Gulls, an Historical Romance", should be included among "Select British Documents".

Most of the documents now printed exist as originals or transcripts in the Dominion Archives, but such other diverse sources appear to have been drawn upon as "The Royal Hospital, Chelsea", "An Order Book of Lt. Colonel John Macdonell", and "The New York *Gazette*".

Notable omissions are the correspondence of Prevost with Sir John Borlase Warren, and several important letters from him to Lord Bathurst and letters from Bathurst.

Great care has evidently been taken to reproduce the peculiarities of spelling, punctuation, and capitalization. Printer's errors are few and unimportant. There is no table of contents, nor list of documents, and no index in the present volume, but an unusually full and precise index, containing "all the information generally given in foot-notes", is promised.

All the maps and illustrations for the whole work are placed in this, "the first and handiest volume". The maps are eight in number, viz: reproductions of D. W. Smith's "Map of Upper Canada" and "Sketches" of the battles of Chrysler's Farm and Châteauguay, originally published by W. Faden; a map of the Detroit frontier, source not stated; Nesfield's "Map of the Niagara Peninsula" and a "Sketch" of the "Action at Lundy's Lane", from originals in the Dominion Archives, both of which have appeared in recent publications; and, finally, a "Map of the Niagara Frontier" and a "Plan of the Siege of Plattsburg" from American sources. These maps and plans are well executed, and the entire mechanical production of the book could hardly be improved upon.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK

David Thompson's Journeys in Idaho. By T. C. ELLIOTT. (Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xi, pp. 97-103, 163-173).

THE first of these articles reproduces the entries in Thompson's journal relating to the selection of the location and the building in September, 1809, of Kullyspell House, the first trading post west of the Rocky Mountains south of 49°. This fort, which was on the north side of

Pend d'Oreille Lake, existed for about two years; it was abandoned late in the autumn of 1811. By the aid of the journal and the personal examination of the locality, Mr. Elliott has been able to identify the exact site of this short-lived fort.

The second article consists of a series of excerpts from Thompson's journal covering his travels in the vicinity of Kullyspell House in October and November, 1809, April and May, 1810, June, 1811, and finally in March, 1812, when he visited the site of "the old house" for the last time, on the eve of his departure from the region that has made his name famous. It is impossible to overestimate the value of the concise and accurate notes that Mr. Elliott has appended to all these extracts. These notes do nothing less than make Thompson's dry-looking records real and living entities for the historical student of to-day.

F. W. HOWAY

Journal of a trip from Fort Colvile to Fort Vancouver and return in 1828, by John Work. Edited by W. S. LEWIS and J. A. MEYERS. (Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xi, pp. 104-114.)

THIS journal covers a portion of the Columbia River that has been described repeatedly by the early explorers and travellers. By 1828 it had become well known as a part of the regular fur trade route. It is therefore of little interest, save in so far as it enables the local student to fill in the movements of the persons mentioned. The New Caledonia brigade, in charge of William Connolly, is met at Fort Okanagan (the usual junction point), accompanies the party to Fort Vancouver, and returns with it. The annotations will be found very useful even by those who are familiar with the period, for Work has a most disconcerting disregard for the accepted forms of proper names. The journal records the interesting fact of the shipment of three young pigs from Colvile to New Caledonia, one of the first steps towards the introduction of farming in the interior of British Columbia. It enables us also to correct one of the dates given in McDonald's Journal, which was edited by Malcolm McLeod under the title *Peace River, A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to Pacific*. On page 25 of that work it is stated that Connolly left the Pacific on June 23, and on this basis Mr. McLeod builds an extensive note. The proper date was July 23. Connolly left Fort Vancouver July 23, and Fort Okanagan about August 11, and arrived at Fort St. James on September 17. The distance, according to McLeod, was about fifteen hundred miles!

F. W. HOWAY

The Nisqually Journal. Edited by VICTOR J. FARRAR. (Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 10, pp. 205-230; vol. 11, pp. 59-65, 135-149, 218-229).

THE publication of *The Nisqually Journal*, which was resumed in volume ten of the Washington Historical Quarterly, still continues. These instalments give the "round, unvarnished tale" of the daily life at Fort Nisqually from March 10, 1849, to June 30, 1850. The annotations by Mr. Farrar are full and exact; they bear witness to careful research in the by-ways of history. Though the journals now appearing relate to a period subsequent to the settlement of the Oregon dispute, they contain much valuable information concerning the movements of well-known people, the activities along the coast, and the ramifications of the business of the Hudson's Bay Company. Frequent references, for example, occur which show how far-reaching were the effects of the California gold excitement, then at its height. The hope is expressed that the policy of publishing these sources may be continued until the complete record has been issued. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of such publications (a value increasing geometrically with the passing years) to every one who desires to obtain a complete and correct view of the fur-traders' life in the West.

F. W. HOWAY

"The Natural Resources Question": The Historical Basis of Provincial Claims. By CHESTER MARTIN. Winnipeg: The King's Printer for the Province of Manitoba. 1920. Pp. 148.

PROFESSOR CHESTER MARTIN has by this work increased the debt of gratitude Canadians owe him for his *Life of Lord Selkirk*. Whatever the moving cause and whatever the effect, the work itself is a model of clear statement and judicious arrangement of historical facts of great moment and interest. The proposition sought to be established is that the Province of Manitoba should have the administration and have final ownership of "Natural Resources" within its boundaries.

Most people will probably agree that this is a political question to be determined on principles of expediency rather than on supposed constitutional principles or historical considerations; at all events nothing will be said here upon the merits of the controversy.

After an excellent explanatory Introduction, we find a chapter on "British Principles with Regard to the Public Domain". This, in substance, while stating facts accurately, is an argument that the full control of public lands is a necessary implication from responsible government. No doubt Lord Durham was perfectly right when he said in his *Report:* "In the North American Colonies . . . the function of authority most

full of good or evil consequences has been the disposal of the public land." And no doubt the course of events in Upper Canada was that practically full control of the land accompanied or speedily followed responsible government. If the relation of Manitoba to the Dominion be wholly analogous to that of Upper Canada to the Mother Country, Professor Martin has established his proposition that Manitoba has not received the same treatment as Upper Canada.

The next chapter forms the most valuable part of the book, containing as it does an account, accurate but all too brief, of the "purchase" by Canada of the vast western territory. The facts of this "purchase" are almost unknown to most Canadians. It would lay us more in Professor Martin's debt if he would expand these chapters into many times their present extent, and give a detailed account of some matters which he but touches upon, with more extended quotation from documents. Perhaps the suggestion may be ventured that more attention might be given to the fact and less to the form: camouflage is not a stranger even in statutes, and in our system "the letter killeth".

The chapter on British Columbia is, *me judice*, not of equal value. The historical facts are correctly stated, but a fair analogy can hardly be said to exist between the case of an established province joining the Dominion and that of a new province created by the Dominion. The same remarks apply *mutatis mutandis* to the chapter on Prince Edward Island.

The pressing needs of Manitoba receive adequate treatment in chapter vii. A good case is made out for better terms. The "humiliation" of "the finality clause of 1885" seems to an outsider to be somewhat exaggerated; at all events, we have never met a Manitoban who appeared humiliated.

Probably the chapter on "American Precedents for a British Province" is not considered by the author as a serious argument. Notwithstanding the fact that the United States may have pursued a particular course in respect of public lands, it does not necessarily follow that Canada should follow the same course.

The difficulties of the whole question appear in the final chapter, "Province or Colony?" No one, indeed, calls Manitoba a "Colony" except those who insist that she is not a Colony: but overlooking the terminology, the contrast between Manitoba as she is and Manitoba as she would wish to be is cogently put, though there is no blinking of the facts. The question is one which must necessarily come up again and again, and the provincial champion will find here a magazine of effective weapons which can be fairly used.

As was to be expected, the work is well written, the language is apt

and well chosen, the arrangement (for the purpose) is logical, and the patriotic fervour which leads the author to state the facts in the manner most favourable to his province and her claims, never leads him to misstate or to cloak the facts. The proof reading is admirable (only one mistake has met the eye), and the press work a credit to the King's Printer at Winnipeg.

The work may not make many converts—in the nature of things it cannot—but it will command respect for its accuracy and fairness. It is a valuable contribution to the history of Canada, and it would be ungracious to complain that in some respects it might well be more exhaustive.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

A Study in Canadian Immigration. By W. G. SMITH. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1920. Pp. 406.

MR. SMITH has performed a gallant deed; he has written the pioneer book on the subject of Canadian immigration, if we except Mr. Woodsworth's *Strangers Within Our Gates*, which could hardly be called a treatise on immigration as much as a description of certain phases of it in Western Canada. It is unfortunate that we have to make the admission that no adequate treatment of this most vital subject has yet appeared in Canada. It is one of those things which remain to be done, and every year makes the necessity more urgent. The appearance, therefore, of Mr. Smith's study is a hopeful sign, and we may acclaim the pioneer in authorship in this most difficult subject. But pioneers travel an uncharted land, and many difficulties and trials await them in order that others may follow after by the bones upon the way. We may, therefore, say frankly that Mr. Smith has not escaped some pitfalls nor avoided some errors. It would be an unkind and unwelcome task to point these out in detail, but they nearly all arise from his handling of statistical material. One instance of this will suffice. On page 60 the author calculates that during the period 1901 to 1909 the number of immigrants totalled 1,244,597, and concludes that the increase of population through immigration was 23.2 per cent. This is an absolutely unwarrantable conclusion, since it overlooks entirely the emigration during the same period, which amounts to as much as 50 per cent of the total immigration of the nationalities enumerated in the immigration returns. It is certainly unfortunate that the author had not noticed this point, as mentioned on page 54 of the Report of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment. This mistake of assuming that every immigrant becomes a permanent citizen of the Dominion falsifies the author's conclusions in more than one place. The treatment in Chapter 13 of immigration and

crime is not very satisfactory, and reveals the old error of classing all misdemeanours, however trivial, which have led to conviction and calling them "crime". Table 52 on page 287 is, therefore, most misleading, not to mention the obvious error with regard to crime in the Yukon, which leaves the reader quite uncertain as to the significance of the figures. It would be easy to continue in the same strain pointing out inaccuracies, as for instance the most tremendous confusion into which the percentages in table 30 (p. 139) have involved themselves and the reader as well. But such would be an ungrateful task and far from the inclination of a candid reviewer. Mr. Smith has performed a service in writing this book for which we must be grateful, and has marked the way for succeeding investigators. Let his be the honour accorded to the pioneer.

H. MICHELL

Wild Life in Canada. By Captain ANGUS BUCHANAN, M.C. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart. 1920. Pp. xx, 264; illustrations.

CAPTAIN ANGUS BUCHANAN is a naturalist. His expedition in the summer of 1914 into the wild northern part of the province of Saskatchewan was for the purpose of collecting specimens of the birds that are to be found there for the provincial museum at Regina. Unfortunately, his intention to pass the winter in the neighbourhood of Fort Du Brochet at the north end of Reindeer Lake was frustrated by the outbreak of war, news of which reached him at the end of October, and determined him to return to civilization with all possible speed, to offer his services to his country. The book which he now publishes is a belated account of his travels and of his observations on the natural history of the country, and yet it contains the latest information on the subject, because no traveller since 1914 has passed that way, or at least made any report of his passage. Of exploration, strictly speaking, Captain Buchanan's narrative contains nothing, for the waterways he traversed have long been known. The valuable portions of the book are his observations on the habits and migrations of the caribou and the chapters descriptive of the animals seen and the birds of which he collected specimens. To this one must add his very interesting and sympathetic account of his Indian companions and their sledge-dogs.

H. H. LANGTON

Recollections of a Police Magistrate. By Col. GEORGE T. DENISON. Toronto: The Musson Book Company. 1920. Pp. 263.

FOR many reasons one rejoices that Col. George T. Denison has written these *Recollections of a Police Magistrate.* The man himself is revealed

as clearly in this book as in *The Struggle for Imperial Unity*, which he published some years ago. Col. Denison has never been a social courtier nor a political partisan. From boyhood he has been an imperialist, but in his imperialism there has always been a dominant flavour of Canadian nationalism. One remembers when his teaching, which is now the common faith of Canada, was treated with derision, and his outlook for the Empire regarded as the dream of an intemperate enthusiast. Now many proclaim his gospel who probably would not admit that they are his disciples.

It is true that imperial federation as the vision was seen by Col. Denison and his associates of long ago has not been realized, nor have we a defensive tariff round the Empire such as he advocated. But the spirit of his teaching prevails all over the British Dominions, and who may say that in the long future there may not be an organization of the Empire as definite as he has foreshadowed? Moreover, Col. Denison has always been chiefly concerned to develop imperial feeling and to encourage coöperation between the Dominions and the Mother Country. He has never insisted that the machinery must be of some absolute pattern. Nor has he ever believed that all the "loyalty" of Empire was the possession of any particular leader or any particular party.

There has been something aggressive in his political independence. So in his courage there has been a touch of audacity. He can see all the humour of a cartoon over which it was probably expected he would writhe and grow angry. He can enjoy an attack, and meet his opponent face to face with an impish raillery and a suggestion of pity which is often more penetrating and disturbing than denunciation or abuse. As this book discloses, he sees the faults and frailties of his kind with humorous toleration, save when toleration would give sanction to meanness or injustice. No man could have a keener sense of equity. He has been almost uncanny in his instant recognition of cant and humbug. Over and over again his decisions have been protested. But very rarely has investigation failed to justify his judgment and illustrate his remarkable insight and intuitive sagacity.

Col. Denison has often said, with that delightful suggestion of infallibility which exasperates critics, that his court is the seat of justice, not a theatre for the contentions of lawyers; and the fact that there is so much truth in the statement often sharpens the exasperation. But it would be absurd to think that he has any actual contempt for law or lawyers. He is smiling within himself when he says the things which provoke and he smiles all the more happily when what was meant for a pleasant gibe is treated as a grave indiscretion. No man ever had more of the love of associates, and successive officers of the Crown have had

his unfailing sympathy in the discharge of their duties. He has never been eager to convict. Nor as a magistrate has he maintained the attitude of suspicion. If he has been stern in dealing with wrong-doers, he has been alert to protect those who had no aptness for self-defence, and tender towards the helpless and unfortunate remnant who have lost hope and courage and the taste for decent living.

It must be said, too, that Col. Denison assumes to speak with authority only on subjects that he understands. He never pretends to have knowledge which he does not possess, and is never afraid to confess ignorance of questions which he has not had the time or the inclination to investigate. It may not be easy for him to suffer fools gladly, but a man has to prove himself a fool before he puts him where he belongs. He is not intolerant of differences of opinion, but has no mercy for the artifices of political shufflers and the insincerities and futilities of partisan wrangling. It would be an offence to suggest that he was ever open to any doubtful appeal. No man ever guarded his integrity with more sleepless vigilance, or ever showed more resolute independence or less concern for his office on the few occasions when he was subjected to threat and attack.

This book reveals Col. Denison's hearty relish for a good story, his delight in human foibles and pretences, his instant appreciation of absurdities and eccentricities, and his quick ear for a word that should not die. If only a man old in years could have had his experiences, only a man young in heart and spirit could have told a story with so much zest, so much freshness, and so much eager enjoyment of the incidents which he describes and perhaps embellishes. It is a great thing at eighty years of age to have such serenity of mind and an optimism which youth might covet. Toronto has had no finer citizen and Canada no truer patriot than Col. Denison. He has lived to see many of his dreams realized, and to see great harvests reaped from seeds of his sowing. By all of us he is honoured, and by many of us beloved.

The night is late; your fire is whitening fast,
Our speech has silent spaces, and is low,
Yet there is much to say before I go
And much is left unsaid, dear friend, at last.

Yet something may be said. This fading fire
Was never cold for me; and never cold
Has been the welcoming glance I knew of old,
Warm with a friendship usage could not tire.

J. S. WILLISON

Canada in the Great World War. By various authorities. Vol. V: *The Triumph of the Allies.* Toronto: United Publishers of Canada. 1920. Pp. viii, 410.

THE fifth volume of this popular history covers the period of operations from the return of the Canadians to the Vimy area after Passchendaele to the evacuation of the Canadian contingent in the army of occupation in February, 1919, and includes appendices on the war in the air, the forestry, railway, veterinary and dental corps, as well as a short and valuable note on the war record of the Royal Military College, Kingston. The interest of the book naturally centres on the operations in the field, and it may therefore be regarded primarily as a collaboration between Mr. Walter Willison and Mr. Roland Hill, two of the most consistent contributors to the earlier volumes and both war correspondents of proved experience and merit.

Mr. Willison's contribution is the slighter. He takes up the story at the return of the Canadians to winter quarters in 1917, and hands it over to Mr. Hill with the beginning of the Hundred Days. Much of his subject matter, therefore, is unspectacular beside the breathless narrative of open warfare that Mr. Hill has to tell. But he has done well to describe in the opening chapters the efforts of the divisional entertainment companies, the experiment of the University of Vimy, and the atmosphere surrounding a general election in the trenches. The bulk of his share of the narrative deals with the holding of Vimy Ridge by the Canadians during the critical German offensive of the spring of 1918, and in reading it one is struck more and more by the wonderful fruits that accrued to the allied armies from the brilliant exploit of the previous year which had secured this outpost from the Germans for a purpose other than that to which it was now put. General Currie's task was a big one. He was holding one-fifth of the entire British front, but the skill of his dispositions and the long experience that the Canadians had now had in active defence methods made Vimy impregnable, and although its fall must, humanly speaking, have turned the whole tide of the battle, even Ludendorff apparently never contemplated taking it by frontal attack, and the flanking protection was always storm-proof.

Mr. Hill's task in attempting to describe the final offensive was severe. He is frankly a war correspondent, repeating the experiment of other war correspondents, with the one advantage of being a little further away from the excitement of it all and in having had a little more time to digest records. None the less, the records that he can consult are necessarily comparatively few. He quotes frequently, and very wisely, from General Currie's reports; but the detailed histories of units are not yet available. And so the book is written from Headquarters,

where batteries and battalions must always be pawns. A glance at the index shows that the individual infantry battalions, for instance, are hardly mentioned more than once or twice in the book. One unit, the documentary history of which is at present filling an ever increasing number of shelves in the reviewer's library, took part in every action, and is mentioned once only for an individual exploit. This is not by way of criticism, but merely to suggest that the completion of this memorial history is the last word only in so far as it closes the most valuable contribution of the war correspondents to the literature of the Canadian Corps.

The progress from Amiens to Mons is admirably narrated. The reader is never lost for more than a page or two at a time in the complications of rapid moves and brigade exploits, and this is saying a great deal for an account of an open battle of this magnitude. It is a thrilling tale of successses of ever cumulating effect, very glorious but very grim. The captures of men and material, the defeat of division after division of Germans, were achieved at a sad price—there were 42,000 Canadian casualties in 65 days. These figures suggest what is perhaps the most extraordinary part of the tale, the strength of reserve that made it possible to use the Canadians as a "spearhead" almost without a pause through the advance. Consequently one is inclined to demur from Mr. Hill's strictures of the "military-political intrigue which prevented the Canadians from having five or six divisions at the Front". It was the compactness of the Canadian Corps that made it so mobile, and it was the fact that its 11,000 casualties in the battle of Amiens could be made good on the spot that made it possible for it to lead the attack on the Drocourt line. If one may suggest general criticism of a story that can be hardly too highly praised for its lucidity and restraint, it will be the old objection to the drawing of comparisons, however mild and inoffensive, between the Canadians and their British, Australian, and French comrades in arms. Mr. Hill is fond of quoting, as a Canadian motto, "One for all and all for one". He does not always give it as wide an application as men in the field would have wished.

Mr. Macpherson's chapter on the advance into Germany is an anticlimax. He never succeeds in forgetting that he is an eye-witness, and consequently never rises to the level of the historian.

The appearance and production of this volume, like its predecessors, is unimpeachable, except in the oft-mentioned matter of maps. There are forty illustrations, almost all of purely ephemeral interest, and only four maps to illustrate battle operations. Even these are of comparatively little value, as the publishers have not realized that a map which illustrates letter-press covering forty or fifty pages must not only be so

inserted as to lie clear of the volume when open but must also, for obvious reasons, be placed at the end, and not at the beginning, of the pages that it serves to elucidate.

R. HODDER WILLIAMS

"The Times" Book of Canada. London: The Times, Printing House Square. 1920. Pp. iv, 292.

THIS little book is, in effect, a sketch of Canadian history since Confederation—a sketch constructed not along traditional lines, but on the sounder plan of breaking history up into separate strands or phases. An admirable chapter deals with political and constitutional development; another traces the growth of agriculture; another industrial development; another railway expansion; and so forth. The breadth of treatment may be seen from the fact that there is a chapter on "Economics and Finance", one on "Progress in Education", and one on "Journalism and Literature". None of these chapters are ,in the nature of the case, very profound or very exhaustive. Many of them have a distinctly journalistic character. Yet they are, on the whole, unusually accurate and well-informed. Though the title-page does not divulge the name of the author or authors, one may hazard the guess that at least parts of the book have been written by a Canadian journalist thoroughly familiar with the history of Canada since 1867.

There are signs that the book was prepared for the press in haste. Some important aspects of Canadian life receive very cursory notice. Little is said, for instance, about French Canada. The chapter on Canadian journalism and literature could hardly fail to give the uninformed reader the impression that French Canada was intellectually dormant. The names of a few French-Canadian writers are mentioned, but they are only those that are most familiar to English-Canadian readers; and the only French-Canadian journal that is mentioned is *Le Canada Français*—a journal which, excellent though it is, is no more worthy of attention than several other French-Canadian periodicals, such as the *Revue Canadienne* and the *Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne* The truth is that French-Canadian journalism and literature compare very favourably with English-Canadian; and it is most regrettable that in the book under review they, as well as other aspects of French-Canadian life, should be almost wholly ignored.

Other defects might be pointed out. The statement (p. 266) that "Sir Wilfred (*sic*) Laurier was a newspaper editor in early manhood in Arthabaskerville (*sic*)" is an example of the slipshodness that is far too prevalent in some parts of the book. But, despite these defects, it must be said that the book is, on the whole, a most interesting and useful

account of Canadian development. Though written primarily, one would gather, for non-Canadian readers, there are few native Canadians who would not derive a quite unusual amount of pleasure and profit from a perusal of it.

A Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography: Brief Biographies of Persons Distinguished in the Professional, Military, and Political Life, and the Commerce and Industry of Canada, in the Twentieth Century. Edited by Hector Charlesworth. (National Biographical Series III.) Toronto: The Hunter-Rose Company. 1919. Pp. xii, 302.

A GENERATION ago there were issued by the Hunter-Rose Company, in 1886 and 1888, two editions of a *Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography*, of which this is, in a sense, a third edition. The present volume, however, is, in another sense, quite a distinct work, since it is confined to the twentieth century, and few of the persons whose biographies are recorded in it find mention in the earlier volumes. The value of biographical dictionaries, as works of reference, can easily be underestimated, owing to the somewhat sordid character of some biographical dictionaries in the past; and it should be said at once that Mr. Charlesworth's *Cyclopedia* will be found of distinct value and usefulness by those who have occasion to look up the biographical details about men who are in the public eye. There are in the volume over six hundred biographical sketches. At the same time, one could wish that the scope of the volume had been broader and more inclusive. There are many figures in Canadian public life, men of a national or even of an international reputation, whom Mr. Charlesworth has entirely ignored. Perhaps one may be forgiven for suggesting that, had the biographies included in the volume been somewhat abbreviated, had they been reduced to the tabular form seen, for example, in *Who's Who*, room might have been found for the inclusion of biographical sketches of a considerable number of Canadians whose names are no less well known—are in fact better known—than the majority of those to whom space has been given.

Some of the biographical notices are couched in an unnecessarily fulsome strain; and one fails to discover the principle which has guided the editor in his selection of the subjects of the excellent full-page photogravure portraits which are scattered through the volume. As a national portrait gallery the selection is hardly a success. However, for what Mr. Charlesworth has given us, we must acknowledge ourselves duly grateful; and we can only express the hope that when the next issue of the *Cyclopedia* is being prepared, the editor will shake himself completely free from the precedents of 1886.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a subsequent more extended notice.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

EMPIRE PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION. *Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire.* Vol. i, nos. 1, 2, 3 (January-July, 1920). London: Westminster Hall, Houses of Parliament. Pp. 594.

A valuable new journal which supplies a quarterly digest of the debates and legislation of the parliaments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland.

HALL, H. DUNCAN. *The Government of the British Commonwealth* (United Empire, September, 1920, pp. 481-489).

A discussion of the problems of the government of the British Empire by an Australian author, who emphasizes the Dominion point of view.

—— —— *The Imperial Crown and the Foreign Relations of the Dominions* (Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, third series, vol. ii, part iii, pp. 196-205).

A discussion of the new status of the self-governing Dominions in regard to foreign relations.

KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE. *Notes on Points of Imperial Constitutional Law* (Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, third series, vol. ii, part iii, pp. 328-332).

The notes deal with (1) Extra-territorial Legislation; (2) Effect of Dominion Naturalization; (3) Constituent Powers of State Parliaments; and (4) Appeals.

KNIBBS, G. H. *The Organization of Imperial Statistics* (Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, March, 1920, pp. 201-224).

A paper advocating the formation of an imperial statistical bureau.

METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE (AIR MINISTRY). *Climatic Conditions on the Imperial Air Routes* (Geographical Journal, August, 1920, pp. 128-136).

Contains a description and climatic chart of the aërial route from London to Vancouver.

SANDON, the Viscount. *The Problem of the British Empire* (The Nineteenth Century and After, October, 1920, pp. 553-568).

A concrete and revolutionary proposal for the creation of an imperial executive or cabinet, based on the principle of the equality of Great Britain and the overseas Dominions.

SCHUYLER, ROBERT L. *The Recall of the Legions: a Phase of the Decentralization of the British Empire* (American Historical Review, October, 1920, pp. 18-36).

A study of the process whereby Great Britain has handed over the burden of local defense to the self-governing Dominions of the Empire.

WILLISON, SIR JOHN. *Imperial Press Conference and Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire* (Journal of the Canadian Banker's Association, October, 1920, pp. 21-25)

A brief discussion of the significance of two imperial gatherings which took place in Canada in the summer of 1920.

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

ALMAGIA, ROBERTO. *Nuovi studi sui viaggi dei Normanni nell' Atlantico settentrionale e in America* (Revista Geografica Italiana, vol. 24, 1917, no. 5, pp. 200-205).

A survey of recent researches in the field of the Norse voyages to America.

BARNARD, H. CLIVE (ed.). *The Expansion of the Anglo-Saxon Nations: A Short History of the British Empire and the United States.* By several contributors. London: A. & C. Black. 1920. Pp. viii, 404.

A section of sixty-six pages, by Mr. A. G. Dorland, traces succinctly the history of British North America since 1713. For the convenience of the student there are paragraph headings in black-headed type.

GARNEAU, FRANÇOIS-XAVIER. *Histoire du Canada.* Cinquième édition, revue, annotée et publiée, avec une introduction el des appendices, par son petit-fils, HECTOR GARNEAU. Tome II. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan. 1920. Pp. xii, 748.

To be reviewed later.

KOLISCHER, KARL ARTHUR. *Zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Amerikas: Die Normannen in Amerika vor Columbus* (Mitteilungen der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft, Wien, Band 57, 1914, pp. 239-249).

A critical study of the Norse voyages to America.

RIDDELL, the Hon. WILLIAM RENWICK. *The Slave in Canada.* (Reprinted from The Journal of Negro History, vol. v, no. 3, July, 1920.) Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. 1920. Pp. v, 120.

Reviewed on page 402.

SCHOOLING, Sir WILLIAM. *The Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1920.* London: Hudson's Bay House. 1920. Pp. xvi, 129; maps and illustrations.

A volume published by the Hudson's Bay Company to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the grant of its charter.

(2) The History of New France

DUCHESNEAU, JACQUES. *Lettre de l'intendant Duchesneau au marquis de Seignelay, fils de Colbert (13 November, 1681).* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvi, no 9, pp. 275-286).

An interesting and important letter extracted from the provincial archives at Quebec.

GOSSELIN, Mgr DAVID. *Le chanoine Jean-Baptiste Gosselin* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 7. pp. 212-219).

A biographical and genealogical sketch of a French priest who died in Canada in 1749.

HAMILTON, LOUIS. *Ursprung der französischen Bevölkerung Canadas: Ein Beitrag zur Siedelungsgeschichte Nord-Amerikas.* Berlin: Neufeld & Henius. 1920. Pp. 88.

Reviewed on page 392.

HARRIS, Very Rev. W. R. *The Cross-Bearers of the Saguenay.* Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1920. Pp. 208; maps and illustrations.

To be reviewed later.

KENNY, LAURENCE A. *The Jesuit in the Mississippi Valley* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, July, 1920, pp. 135-143).

A popular sketch.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. (ed.). *Dollard des Ormeaux et ses compagnons: Notes et documents.* Avec une introduction par ÆGIDIUS FAUTEUX. Montréal: Le Comité du Monument Dollard des Ormeaux. 1920. Pp. 93.

Reviewed on page 394.

ROY, P.-G. *Edmond de Suève, Seigneur en partie de Ste. Anne de la Pérade* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 8, pp. 248-250).

Details concerning the life of one of the officers of the Carignan regiment who settled in Canada.

—— —— *Les familles de nos gouverneurs français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 9, pp. 257-274).

An account of the families of the governors of New France, from Champlain to Vaudreuil, with especial reference to those families which came out to Canada.

ROY, RÉGIS. *Le Duc d'Anville* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 8, p. 255).

A brief note correcting some current errors regarding the identity of the Duc-d'Anville who commanded the expedition sent by the French government to recapture Louisbourg in 1746.

SCOTT, l'abbé H.-A. *Grands anniversaires: Souvenirs historiques et pensées utiles.* Québec: L'Action Sociale. 1919. Pp. xiv, 304.

Reviewed on page 395.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Au Lac Winnipeg, 1734* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. xiv, no. 3, pp. 140-142).

A brief chapter in the history of Western exploration.

(3) The History of British North America to 1867

[BOURLAMAQUE, M. DE.] *Un mémoire de M. de Bourlamaque sur le Canada* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 7, pp. 193-209; no. 8, pp. 225-240).

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An examination of the truth of the rumour, current in Canada in 1812, that the command of the American army of invasion was to be offered to General Moreau, one of Napoleon's former lieutenants, who was at that time living in the United States.

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The nineteenth annual volume of this well-known and invaluable review. The history of the year 1919 is dealt with under the following headings: (1) Canadian Echoes of the World War; (2) Canadian Relations with Foreign Countries; (3) Canadian Relations with the Empire; (4) The Prince of Wales in Canada; (5) Agriculture and the Organized Farmers; (6) Industry and the Organized Manufacturers; (7) Labour and the Organized Workmen; (8) Education; (9) Dominion Government and Politics; (10) Provincial Government and Politics.

LONGLEY, the Hon. J. W. *Reminiscences, Political and Otherwise* (Canadian Magazine, October, 1920, pp. 443-450).

The beginning of a series of reminiscences dealing, to a large extent, with political history in the Maritime Provinces.

THE TIMES BOOK OF CANADA. With Map and Index. London, England: The Times, Printing House Square. 1920. Pp. iv, 292.

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NORRIS, Lieut. ARMINE, M.C. *"Mainly for Mother."* Toronto: The Ryerson Press. [1920.] Pp. 219.

The letters written to his family by a subaltern of the Canadian Machine Gun Corps who was killed in action on September 28, 1918. The letters cover the greater part of the years 1915-1918.

WILLISON, W. A., and others. *Canada in the Great World War: An Authentic Account of the Military History of Canada from the Earliest Days to the Close of the War of the Nations*. Vol. V: *The Triumph of the Allies*. Toronto: United Publishers of Canada. [1920.] Pp. viii, 410.

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A booklet "compiled for the use of settlers and investors from material supplied mainly by federal and provincial services."

IRVIN, JOHN. *History of Bridgetown* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xix, pp. 31-51).

"A brief historical sketch of the town of Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, illustrating the changes which have taken place in the manners, customs, and habits of the rural population of Nova Scotia during the last century; with a sketch of Lieut.-Colonel James Poyntz, a Peninsular War veteran."

PAYNE, ABRAHAM MARTIN. *The Life of Sir Samuel Cunard* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xix, pp. 75-91).

A biographical sketch of the founder of the Cunard Steamship Line.

POLLOK, the Rev. ALLAN. *Recollections of Sixty Years Ago* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xix, pp. 17-30).

Reminiscences of Halifax and Nova Scotia in the fifties and sixties of last century, by a Scottish clergymen who came to Nova Scotia in 1853.

POWER, the Hon. LAWRENCE G. *Our First President, The Honorable John William Ritchie, 1808-1890* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xix, pp. 1-15).

A biographical sketch of the first president of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

REGAN, JOHN W. *The Inception of the Associated Press* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xix, pp. 93-114).

An account of the "Pony Express" that in 1849 forwarded European news from Halifax to Digby, Nova Scotia, and thence to St. John, New Brunswick, where it was telegraphed to New York.

ROBITAILLE, J.-ÉDOUARD. *L'agriculture en Acadie* (Le Canada Français, vol. v, no. 1, pp. 23-27).

A brief sketch of agriculture in Nova Scotia.

SMITH, WILLIAM. *The Early Post Office in Nova Scotia, 1755-1867* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xix, pp. 53-73).

A paper by the secretary of the Public Archives of Canada, who was formerly archivist of the Post Office of Canada.

(2) The Province of Quebec

AUCLAIR, l'abbé ELIE-J. *Sir Adolphe Routhier* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxv, nos. 8-9, pp. 481-483).

A brief obituary notice.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'Honorable Toussaint Pothier* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvi, no. 7, pp.

A brief biographical sketch.

PELLAND, LÉO. *Notre Droit Civil* (Le Canada Français, vol. v, no. 1, pp. 5-22).
First part of an historical sketch of the civil law of the province of Quebec.

(3) The Province of Ontario

KIRKCONNELL, WATSON. *Fort Henry, 1812-1914* (Queen's Quarterly, July, August, September, 1920, pp. 78-88.
An interesting account of the history of the military fort which stands guard over the harbour of Kingston, Ontario.

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Notes on Niagara, 1759-1860.* (No. 32.) Niagara, Ont. [1920.] Pp. 73.
A series of interesting extracts, mostly from old newspapers, dealing with the history of the Niagara peninsula during the latter half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries.

PUTNAM, J. H. *City Government, Ottawa.* Ottawa: James Hope & Sons. 1919. Pp. 74.
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RIDDELL, the Hon. WILLIAM RENWICK. *A Criminal Circuit in Upper Canada a Century Ago.* (The Canadian Law Times, September, 1820, pp. 711-727).
A paper, copiously annotated, and based on research in the Canadian archives, describing the chief cases that came up before Chief Justice Powell, when he took the Eastern Circuit in Upper Canada in the autumn of 1820.

—— —— *Mr. Justice Thorpe, the Leader of the First Opposition in Upper Canada* (Canadian Law Times, November, 1920, pp. 907-924).
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—— —— *Old Province Tales: Upper Canada.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, & Company. 1920. Pp. v, 280.
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—— —— *The Solicitor-General Tried for Murder* (The Canadian Law Times, August, 1920, pp. 636-644).
A paper describing the indictment for murder of Henry John Boulton, the solicitor-general of Upper Canada from 1820 to 1833, as a result of his having been an accessory to the Jarvis-Ridout duel in 1817.

—— —— *When the Courts of Queen's Bench and Chancery Strove for Supremacy* (The Canadian Law Times, October, 1920, pp. 802-808).
An account of a little-known episode in the legal history of Upper Canada, the conflict between the Court of Queen's Bench and the newly-created Court of Chancery in 1844.

WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OTTAWA. *Annual Report, 1919-1920.* Ottawa. Pp. 38.
Contains, in addition to the usual reports, a list of articles presented to the By-town Museum.

WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TORONTO. *Transaction no. 18.* 1918-1919. Pp. 48.
The contents of this *Transaction* are (1) a posthumous paper by the late William J. Morris describing Fort Garry in the seventies, and (2) a number of interesting letters written by the Rev. William Boulton, a master at Upper Canada College, during the years 1833-34.

—— —— *Transaction no. 19.* 1920. Pp. 48.

This *Transaction* contains a number of papers relating to Sir Isaac Brock, mainly Brock's district general orders from June to October, 1812, some of which have never been printed in full before.

(4) The Western Provinces

ELLIOTT, T. C. (ed.). *David Thompson's Journeys in Idaho* (Washington Historical Quarterly, April, 1920, pp. 97-103; July, 1920, pp. 163-173).

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GOODWIN HELEN DURRIE. *Shipbuilding in the Pacific Northwest* (Washington Historical Quarterly, July, 1920, pp. 183-201).

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LEWIS, WILLIAM S., and MEYERS, JACOB A. (eds.). *Journal of a Trip from Fort Colvile to Fort Vancouver and Return in 1828* (Washington Historical Quarterly, April, 1920, pp. 104-114).

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A popular description of some of the old fur-trading forts in the Canadian west.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

BARKER, ALDRED F. *A Summer Tour (1919) through the Textile Districts of Canada and the United States.* [Leeds, England. 1920.] Pp. xi, 197.

A book of tourist's impressions, by the Professor of Textile Industries in the University of Leeds.

BOARD OF TRADE OF THE CITY OF TORONTO. *Canada: To the Delegates of the Ninth Congress, Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire, Toronto, September 18-22, 1920.* [Toronto.] Pp. 301.

A sumptuously illustrated descriptive volume about Canada, published for the use of visiting delegates to the Ninth Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire. "Care has been taken to have the information given . . . as complete and accurate as possible."

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CHICANOT, E. L. *Immigrant Conditions under the Maple Leaf.* (2) *English Girls* (United Empire, October, 1920, pp. 530-533).

A brief discussion of female immigration into Canada from Great Britain.

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GODFREY, ERNEST H. *Fifty Years of Canadian Progress* (Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association, October, 1920, pp. 53-68).

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HAGUE, FREDERIC. *Immigrant Conditions under the Maple Leaf.* (1) *Soldier Settlements* (United Empire, October, 1920, pp. 527-530).

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HANNAN, A. J. *Land Settlement of Ex-Service Men in Australia, Canada, and the United States* (Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, third series, vol. ii, part iii, pp. 225-237).

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MEURIOT, P. M. G. *L'Immigration contemporaine au Canada, son caractère nouveau et ses consequences* (Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris, June, 1918, pp. 187-197).

A brief statistical study of Canadian immigration.

WILLISON, Sir JOHN. *Agriculture and Industry.* Toronto: Canadian Reconstruction Association. [1920.] Pp. 12.

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V. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

[DALHOUSIE COLLEGE, CENTENARY COMMITTEE OF.] *One Hundred Years of Dalhousie, 1818-1918.* Halifax: The Centenary Committee. 1919. Pp. 61.

A charmingly illustrated sketch of the history of Dalhousie College, Halifax, published on the occasion of the centennial commemoration of the college.

SHIPLEY, Sir ARTHUR. *Universities in Canada and in the United States* (United Empire, October, 1920, pp. 539-543).

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